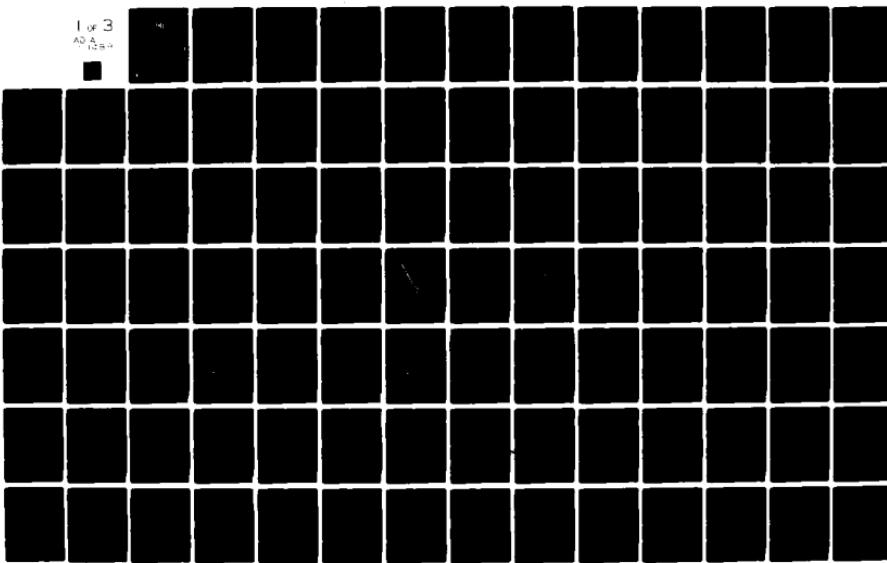


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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Richard Golniewicz

TITLE: Northeast Minneapolis: Location and Movement in an Ethnic Community

Major, USAF, 1979, 250 pages, Doctor of Philosophy, University of Minnesota.

This study investigated six hypotheses concerning the development of an ethnic community and intra-urban migration in Minneapolis from 1905 to 1945.

1. Although a Polish ethnic core area could be identified, provincial clustering was not sharply defined within that group.

2. The "port of entry" function grew with the community and was not bound to the area of transient housing.

3. The length of first generation move was more closely related to the expansion of Minneapolis and its economy than to the length of time since arrival.

4. It cannot categorically be stated that second generation individuals are more mobile than first generation members. Important considerations are the definition of mobility used and the age structure of each generation.

5. More Polish moves were explained by within-group information flows than by Adams' wedge-shaped mental map notion. Stability, not mobility, was the keynote of Polish residential choice.

6. Other Slavic groups living near the Poles had similar migration patterns. Non-Slavs had dissimilar patterns. The differing patterns stress the importance of cultural differences in intra-urban migration and suggest that ethnic corridors are formed by the removal of non-group members in the face of an expanding ethnic area.

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NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS:
LOCATION AND MOVEMENT IN AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

By

Richard Wolniewicz

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JUNE 1979

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"I have also a flower."

"We do not record flowers," said the geographer.

"Why is that? The flower is the most beautiful thing on my planet!"

"We do not record them," said the geographer, "because they are ephemeral."

"What does that mean--'ephemeral'?"

"Geographies," said the geographer, "are the books which, of all books, are most concerned with matters of consequence. They never become old-fashioned. It is very rarely that a mountain changes its position. It is very rarely that an ocean empties itself of its waters. We write of eternal things."

"But extinct volcanoes may come to life again," the little prince interrupted. "What does that mean--'ephemeral'?"

"Whether volcanoes are extinct or alive, it comes to the same thing for us," said the geographer. "The thing that matters to us is the mountain. It does not change."

"But what does that mean--'ephemeral'?" repeated the little prince, who never in his life had let go of a question, once he had asked it.

"It means, 'which is in danger of speedy disappearance.'"

"Is my flower in danger of speedy disappearance?"

"Certainly it is."

--Antoine de Saint Exupery
The Little Prince

Many American scholars have viewed ethnicity in America much as the geographer viewed the little prince's rose. Ethnicity was not worth studying because it was ephemeral.¹ From time to time, however, interest in ethnicity is rekindled in academic circles and in the popular mind, as Alex Haley's Roots phenomenon has shown. During the 1960s and 1970s scholars have shown a renewed interest in it and have contributed much to our understanding of it.²

Milton Gordon stated that, far from being ephemeral, ethnicity had proved to be quite hardy in America.³ The

¹Two editors of a cultural geography reader gave the flavor of this view. "The study of recent foreign immigrant groups in American cities, though it possesses great romantic appeal, will not uncover many important additions to North American culture and will not reveal a great deal about the former cultures of the immigrants, diluted and recast as they become in new surroundings. Any immigrant group in the United States represents a transient and probably unique subcultural unit... Immigrant neighborhoods are probably less significant from the standpoint of cultural geography than many other kinds of subcultural units that are based on local or regional communities and social stratification..." Philip W. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell eds., Readings in Cultural Geography, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 16-17. Contrast this view with Handlin's statement that, "Once I thought to write a history of immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history." Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 3.

²Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," in The State of American History, H.J. Bass ed., (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), pp. 70-88.

³Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 24.

word is derived from the Greek "ethnos" meaning people or nation. Gordon defined ethnicity as the sense of peoplehood possessed by any group that is set off by race, religion, national origin, or a combination of these. He also speculated that social class and national regions could serve as foci for ethnic groups. Thus, Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, and Appalachian whites are considered ethnics as well as Swedes, Italians, or Poles. Gordon stressed that usually it is a combination of foci around which ethnic groups form.⁴ An Irish-American is not just Irish, but Irish-Catholic or Scotch-Irish; a Pole is Polish-Catholic or Jewish; a Black is likely to be Protestant and poor, or a Black-Muslim. Our largest ethnic group's name contains racial, national, and religious elements. W.A.S.P. stands for white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, but it also implies a fourth, social class. Most people would be reluctant to apply the term W.A.S.P. to lower class whites of Anglo-Saxon Protestant background.

Gordon stated that the ethnic group performs three essential functions for its members. First, it provides the individual a source of self-identification, that is, it provides him with a sense of belonging and partially answers the question "Who am I?" Second, it develops a

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

patterned network of institutions and relationships which permits and encourages its members to remain within its confines for all of their primary and some of their secondary contacts throughout their lives. Third, it refracts and interprets for its members the patterns of behavior in the larger American society through the prism of the group's cultural heritage.⁵

More recently, Vecoli and Greeley have stressed ethnicity's vitality in modern America and the notions of peoplehood and belonging in its definition. To Vecoli, ethnicity was "group consciousness based on a sense of common origin."⁶

Drawing from Will Herberg's notion that a person must "belong" in order to live and must be able to locate himself in the larger social whole in order to belong, Greeley emphasized that the emergence of the ethnic group in America was a response to the loss immigrants felt in leaving Gemeinschaft society behind. He stated that:

the warm and intimate supportive relationships of the village were not readily given up, and as a whole, traditional sociological research for the last three decades has established that informal, particularistic, diffuse relationships still play a major role in modern society.⁷

⁵Gordon, pp. 24-38. ⁶Vecoli, p. 70.

⁷Andrew M. Greeley, The Denominational Society: A Sociological Approach to Religion in America, (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foreman and Company, 1972), p. 112.

The ethnic group is a manifestation of modern urban man's attempt to sustain communal relationships in a contractual society. Greeley used the term "ethnicity" to describe "the tendency of urban man to create such pools of preferred role opposites when faced with the impersonality of the industrial metropolis."⁸ Greeley added two other comments to Herberg's analysis. First, he stated that it is too soon to count the nationality group out as a focus of American ethnic groups since nationality continues to be an extremely important factor in the social structure of many large American cities. Second, in support of the notion that religion can be a focus of an ethnic group, Greeley argued that church membership makes available a "fellowship which is highly important in compensating for those intimate relationships of life which seem to have been lost when the peasant village was left behind."⁹ Denominationalism is one more layer in an individual's identity that differentiates the "we" and "they."

Simirenko, in his study of the Russian community of Northeast Minneapolis, used ideas patterned after Martindale's, which are very similiar to those of Gordon and Greeley. These ideas stressed the notion of the ethnic community as a total way of life "sufficient to bring a plurality of its members through a cycle of the

⁸Greeley, p. 113. ⁹Ibid., p. 114.

normal year and the normal life," and whose most essential properties were stability, consistency and completeness.¹⁰

Simirenko added that ethnic groups do not form unless there is extra-community innovation and extra-community closure. The majority community will permit a group of immigrants to establish themselves in the larger community (innovation) because of something the immigrants can provide for the entire community, yet deny the immigrants full reception (closure). Simirenko's statements concerning the formation of ethnic groups are similar to those Gordon made as the reasons for the continued importance of ethnic groups.

Gordon developed a list of seven assimilation variables. The first was acculturation, the adoption of the host society's characteristics such as dress, ideals, economics, language, and customs. The second was structural assimilation, the large scale entry into the host society on a primary group level. The remainder of Gordon's variables, such as intermarriage, lack of conflict and the absence of prejudice, naturally followed once structural assimilation, had taken place.¹¹

Gordon, however, believed that structural

¹⁰ Alex G. Simirenko, Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen, (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. ix.

¹¹ Gordon, pp. 71-81.

assimilation had not yet occurred in America. He asserted that acculturation has occurred without massive structural assimilation and that this situation was the most essential sociological fact of the American experience of trying to create a unified nation from diverse peoples.¹²

Both Gordon's and Simirenko's frameworks contain negative elements. Gordon stated that the price of structural assimilation is the disappearance of the ethnic group. Simirenko stressed the role of the larger society in denying full reception to a new group. If a positive and valid function of the ethnic group is to retain the warm and intimate supportive relationships of the village, as Greeley said, it is not clear that the incoming group must accept an invitation to full reception by the host society, even if it were extended. If the invitation were accepted and assimilation occurred, it does not mean that all facets of ethnic society are given up for those of the host society. Assimilation is not a one-way street. The host society also changes.

The fact that ethnicity possesses a positive function serves to explain why ethnic groups based on national origin have retained their vitality in American urban areas. Although the strength of the nationality group may be waning slowly as a focus of ethnicity in America, it

¹² Ibid., p. 114.

is not yet clear what is to give structure to American society in the future. Herberg suggested super-ethnic groups along Protestant, Catholic, Jewish lines, but Greeley sees a finer religious breakdown along denominational lines. Others have suggested that social class and race will provide a basis for the preference pools of role opposites.

Often group consciousness is linked with regional consciousness. Over time a place comes to be linked with a group so that part of the individual's self-identification derives from place as well as group. The social community is complemented by a spatial one in providing feelings of belonging to the individual.

Rice has investigated regional consciousness in a Minnesota county and demonstrated the existence of national ethnic communities and segregation there in the nineteenth century, although the degree of segregation varied from group to group. Segregation persisted despite a high degree of mobility. He also demonstrated provincial segregation among the Swedes and markedly lower segregation near towns.¹³ Rice attempted to determine the extent that a formal region, which he measured by the degree of segregation, coincided with a functional region,

¹³ John G. Rice, Patterns of Ethnicity in a Minnesota County, 1880-1905, Geographical Reports 4, University of Umea; Department of Geography, 1973, pp. 62-63.

which he measured in terms of church membership.¹⁴

Difficulties arise in applying such a method to the study of ethnic groups in urban America. For one thing, interaction between individuals in rural areas in the last century was severely limited by distance. There was a low limit to the number of people an individual could meet within his normal daily travel. Most of the people he met were much like himself. In most of his daily activities he would not journey out of familiar territory, territory in which he felt he belonged and which had a special meaning to him. Such was not the case in the urban centers of nineteenth century America. Even on a short foot journey to work the new immigrant could pass the homes of thousands of people, many of whom were quite different than he. In nineteenth century rural America, the location of dwelling and employment were generally identical. A family lived on the land it farmed. Economic opportunity and population density were, more subject to areal constraints in rural areas than they were in urban areas where thousands of people could live and work on each square mile. In rural areas, members of differing groups rarely occupied the same land, but in urban areas members of differing groups might live on the same space since dwellings could be stacked five or six

¹⁴Rice, pp. 4-5.

floors high. Members of several groups could and did work in the same factory. These facts make it more difficult to delimit ethnic regions in urban areas.

Ethnic regions did arise, however, in American urban centers during the era of the "new" immigration. Areas of cultural concentration, perhaps approximating those spatial communities which Rice found in rural Minnesota, formed and have persisted, although in weakened form, to the present.¹⁵ It is my contention 1) that man's attempt to sustain particularistic relationships in modern urban society continues to have spatial ramifications; 2) that the "tyranny of distance"¹⁶ has not been broken by the improvement of transportation in this century; 3) that the development of urban ethnic colonies based on nationality has been influenced at every stage by the attempt of individuals to locate close to the pool of preferred role opposites to which they feel a need to belong; 4) that regional consciousness has developed in American cities which provides the individual with a source of identity and belonging on a very local scale; 5) that the positive aspects of ethnic groups, in the sense which Greeley has defined them, allows for the modification and not the

¹⁵ Joseph Parot, "Ethnic Versus Black Metropolis: The Origins of Polish-Black Housing Tensions in Chicago," Polish American Studies, XXIX (Spring-Autumn 1972), pp. 11 and 31-32.

¹⁶ Rice, p. 23.

destruction of ethnic society and a modification¹⁷ and not the destruction of the attending regional consciousness; and, 6) that these modifications are not haphazard, but structured, with one of the structuring elements being proximity.

These contentions mean that immigrants who wish to remain in their own group must locate within a distance that will allow regular contact to be maintained. In nineteenth century urban cities this certainly meant close residential proximity and allowed for the rise of spatial communities which were both functional and formal in nature. These tiny cultural areas had a degree of internal unity which allowed the members to remain in them throughout their life cycles. The contentions also mean that when the urban area expands at a time of improved transportation, these culture areas may suffer a demise through the loss of members by death, intermarriage, and migration. They may become non-spatial in the strict sense that the group no longer dominates any given space within the city and its membership is scattered. Members who move out of the confines of the old community, but want to remain functionally a part of it, must still locate within a distance that allows for easy access to other group members. The expanded action space must still

¹⁷Greeley, p. 114.

be small enough for individuals to live outside the old spatial community yet be within easy commuting distance. This situation makes it possible for social units such as congregations of differing denominations to share the same area and in this sense be non-spatial.

Finally, if the contentions are true, a new local regional consciousness may emerge in the modern American city. Whereas the older regional consciousness may have been based on a single national group and have been spread over a limited area, the new regional consciousness may reflect the merger of several national groups through intermarriage or increased inter-group understanding. This new regional consciousness plays a role in the self identity of the individuals living there, defines the "we" and "they" and the set of values held by "us," and is recognized both by those in and outside the region, so that a loss of belonging may be felt by those who move away from the region and a sense of alienation may be experienced by the outsider who moves into the region.

I do not contend that national origin is the only, or even the most important, factor in explaining or determining social and residential structure in modern American cities. In some areas of the city or suburbs national origin plays no role at all, although in the broad sense of ethnicity as Greeley used the term, my experience indicates that it still plays a vital role even

in the most transient, mobile suburbs of our nation.¹⁸

This study explores the temporal and spatial development of an ethnic group based on national origin with the hope of shedding light on the relationship between its settlement pattern and its social form. There are several ways one could approach this problem. One is to ask people who their friends and relatives are, where they live, and how they have modified their residence to accommodate these friendship circles (or vice versa). An effective questionnaire, one which is easily and validly administered and correctly interpreted, could be helpful. It is not always possible, however, to quiz individuals, especially when investigating mobility over an extended period, simply because the subjects may have died or become otherwise unavailable.

Another way is to assume that some form of interaction existed between people who lived close to one another (proximity) or who belonged to the same social institutions (function). For example, it might reasonably be supposed that members of an ethnic group living on a particular block at one time interact and, therefore, would display similar mobility patterns in an ensuing period. Or it might be assumed that people belonging to

¹⁸ Vance Packard recognized the emergence of "one-layered" communities, quoting a Cleveland editor who stated, "There is a suburb here for every ethnic group, every taste, every prejudice." A Nation of Strangers, (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1972), p. 303.

the same organization, such as a church or fraternal club, interact and would exhibit similar mobility patterns.

Adams, in a study of intra-urban migration, developed a line of reasoning relating proximity at one time with subsequent residential mobility.¹⁹ He claimed that urban mobility is influenced by the mover's mental map of his city. These maps are rarely synthesized into a unified construct, but each resident nevertheless possessed some mental image of his city. Some parts of the image are much sharper than others. The sharpest parts are those in the resident's immediate neighborhood and along a line from the downtown through his neighborhood and out to the built up edge of the urban region. Images differ from person to person depending on individual movement patterns and social characteristics. Low-income racial and ethnic ghetto dwellers, for example, may have sharp images of their immediate vicinity, but fuzzy images of other parts of the city. A suburbanite may have a somewhat larger image than the ghetto resident because of his greater daily action space, but even he has an image that is quite restricted.

Rossi concluded that most intra-urban migrants were fairly conservative and easily pleased in their search for

¹⁹ John S. Adams, "Directional Bias in Intra-Urban Migration," Economic Geography, Vol. 45, No. 4 (October 1969), pp. 302-23.

new housing.²⁰ Most do not look for an optimal dwelling and rely on informal sources of information, such as personal contacts, rather than formal ones, such as realtors or advertising. Most people, it seemed, were fearful of change and lower status folks were more fearful than higher class ones, hence their greater reliance on informal sources.

Because people will move only to those areas which are familiar to them or sharply in focus on their mental maps, their movements will tend to fall within a narrow wedge-shaped pattern beginning at the city's center and bounding their previous residence. Adams further reasoned that since people living in close proximity had similar mental maps they should exhibit similar movement patterns. Adams' main concern, however, was with direction and length of move. He did not investigate particular origins, destinations, or social groups. In fact, he drew his sample of Minneapolis residents from the letter "K" section of the city directory because it "was the first letter in the alphabet for which a pronounced ethnic bias was not apparent."²¹

This study explores the expansion of the Polish

²⁰ Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), Chapter 1.

²¹ Adams, pp. 312-13.

ethnic community of Minneapolis over a forty year span to test some of the implications of Adams' framework and to try to elaborate on the statements of several other scholars. It investigates the locational behavior of the pre-World War I immigrants and their off-spring.

I chose Minneapolis for three reasons: convenience, experience, and applicability. First, Minneapolis was convenient. Minneapolis was here! The benefits of familiarity and availability were appealing and obvious to me as a student at the University of Minnesota. Minneapolis for me was not an abstract other, but part of the "really" real. I had already gained some experience in collecting data here, enough to have made several connections with sources I needed and enough to know that an "insider" has certain advantages over an "outsider." I would have certainly been an outsider had I conducted a study elsewhere. Additionally, I had studied under Professor Eugene Cotton Mather, who credits himself with the development of Mather's Central Place Theory. This theory stated that there is no place as central or important as the place you are at. His theory made sense to me.

Second, I view a study of Poles in Minneapolis as a natural result of my long term experience as an American of Polish descent and my own more recent experience in Minneapolis. As an American of Polish descent I have long

had an interest in things Eastern European. I have also been vaguely aware, as most Americans of similar extraction, that very often American education is unreal for the student. In it one studies English history, English literature, English geography. Most Americans, however, have come from non-English speaking traditions, and so for many, American education is about foreigners. I must admit that at the graduate level the insistence on things American and English has diminished. Some instructors at this level encourage self-examination as an important first step in education. Some go further to state that the real basis of academic inquiry lies not in isolating oneself in Academia's towers to read books about what others think or have done, but in exploring, thinking about and experiencing the real world for yourself.²² The Geography Department at Minnesota is blessed with a number of individuals who allow the student wide latitude in his choice of study. I could hardly help but be influenced by the relatively free atmosphere which prevailed there. At Minnesota I had an opportunity to see, to experience, and to formulate ideas which were not always corroborated by what I read in academic publications. These experiences

²²Not all instructors feel this way. A handout from my first Quantitative Methods course at the graduate level at Indiana University gave the student in outline format the proper sequence for formulating a problem. Under "Origin of Problem" was "(1) Suggested by existing theory, (2) Inadequacy of existing theory, (3) Empirical observation - this sort of thing is not encouraged."

aided immensely in verifying or disputing the ideas of others.

Third, Adams' evidence for wedge-shaped intra-urban migration patterns came from the Minneapolis experience. It seemed appropriate to use data from the same area to evaluate his notions.

Most scholars have paid little attention to the locational aspects of the first and second generations or have treated them summarily. Jonassen did not consider generational differences or time of immigration in his study of Norwegians in New York over a 140 year span.²³ Fraser, in his study of Negro Harlem, however, noted that older people and older institutions tended to gravitate to and persist longer in the old part of the ghetto while the younger generation provided the expansive force along the community's edge.²⁴

Although he did not map the process, Milan Jerabek reported that in many rural Czech Minnesota colonies newly arrived immigrants took up land on the periphery of the colony where it was available. After a time the good land taken up and new colonies were started in other parts of

²³Christen T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," in Studies in Human Ecology, George A. Theodorson ed., (Evanston: Row-Peterson and Company, 1961), pp. 264-73.

²⁴E. Franklin Fraser, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," in Studies in Human Ecology, p. 169.

the state.²⁵ At first these new communities were peopled from the original colony, but within a short period the source for the new settlement shifted from the original Minnesota colony to Bohemia. The expanding areas, then, were fed from the Old Country.

Little is known about the residential choices of immigrants who arrived at various times and as they progressed in tenure. One theory, called the immigrants' ladder, holds that the new immigrant begins life in American cities in the ghetto core and, with increasing economic status, moves to positions farther away from the city center.²⁶ Where did the newcomer find lodging upon his arrival? Was it really in the boarding house of the core or in some private residence near the ghetto's edge? Did the immigrants who had been in the city longest gravitate to the center of the community as Fraser suggested? Were there signs of provincial clustering similar to what Rice found in rural Minnesota? Was the rural situation that Jerabek described analogous in any way to the Polish experience in Minneapolis?

At the turn of the century both rural and urban ethnic settlements in America were being reinforced in

²⁵ Milan Jerabek, "Czechs in Minnesota," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, July 1939), pp. 62-79.

²⁶ Terry G. Jordan and Lester Rowntree, The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography, (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1976), pp. 366-67.

numbers and cultural values by continued infusions from Europe which was made possible by our almost unrestricted immigration policy. This policy ended in two stages in 1921 and 1924. From then on the ethnic communities grew in two basic ways. They bred their own or attracted new members from similar ethnic settlements of rural and urban America. All was not gain for these communities since their older members died off and some of the second generation defected. Surely the communities were becoming more American, but they did not disappear suddenly. Many grew quite large and pushed ethnic corridors from the central city to the city limits and beyond.²⁷

The second generation was supposedly more active in extending the bounds of the community, wanting homes a bit larger than their parents', perhaps more in line with American tastes, but homes still close enough for regular contacts with their relatives. The second generation's mental maps may have been shaped by their childhood experiences. These experiences were the base upon which the second generation built as it moved outward. The Duncans found that occupational origins, that is, the father's work group, was more closely associated with residential distribution than was any of the other usual indicators of socioeconomic status. They speculated that

²⁷ Bryan Thompson and Carol Agocs, "Mapping the Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Detroit: A Preliminary Report," April 1972, pp. 11-13. (Mimeographed.)

a person's aspirations are formed in his childhood and adolescent years and that the father's occupation is an important aspect of that experience.²⁸ Bell also stressed the importance of family relations in modern urban America.²⁹ Laumann concluded that religious preferences, shaped in childhood, would have a profound impact on future friendship networks.³⁰

Many questions are raised by what previous scholars have written on friendship networks and by the differences in what they have said and what can be observed. It is my hope that answers to some of the questions may be found by large scale mapping of the ethnic community. As a first step in answering these questions, they are stated in more limited terms to facilitate measurement, analysis, and comparison with the findings of other scholars.

Three hypotheses deal with the first generation:

(1) Immigrants from the same regions of Poland cluster in sharply defined, easily differentiated parts of the Minneapolis Polish community.

²⁸ Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," in Studies in Human Ecology, p. 164.

²⁹ Wendell Bell, "The City, the Suburb and a Theory of Social Choice," in The New Urbanization, Scott Greer et al. eds., (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), p. 160.

³⁰ Edward O. Laumann, Bonds of Pluralism: The Form and Substance of Urban Social Networks, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 202.

(2) The most recent arrivals to the community (following Jerebek) tend to locate on the fringe of the ethnic area.

(3) The length of first generation moves varies inversely with the length of time the person has been in the state.

The next hypothesis compares the mobility of the first and second generations:

(4) Second generation members will be more mobile than the first, that is, the second generation in any given period will have a smaller percentage of non-movers, second generation moves will be of greater distance, and second generation moves will have a wider variety of destinations than first generation moves.

The last two hypotheses evaluate intra-urban migration in light of Adams' model and the Polish experience:

(5) Polish moves tend to be narrowly limited in space with one move much like another, perhaps reflecting the information flows within the community.

(6) Members of other groups who live close to Poles will have dissimilar destinations.

CHAPTER II

THE DATA

To answer the questions posed, data concerning individuals were needed. Published aggregate federal census material is not specific enough to trace migration patterns through several decades. Part of the reason for this lack is that the census bureau from time to time changes both questions and classification categories. Additionally, census tracts are too large and vary too greatly in size and shape to be of much help in finding directional biases in intra-city movements. If the movements of a group were to be followed, I needed to know to which ethnic group the people belonged and to be able to locate their residences through time. I needed names, ethnic affiliation, and addresses. This information is collected by the census taker as he compiles the manuscript census.

Federal manuscript censuses covering the period of interest were unavailable when the research for this study was done. The last released federal manuscript census at that time was for 1880. Ninety-nine percent of the 1890 census had been destroyed by fire and the 1900 census had not yet been released to the public.

Fortunately, the State of Minnesota had taken

decennial censuses in 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, and 1905. All are available for public use. 1905 was chosen as the base year of the study because it was the last census available with the type of information needed and contained more Poles than those before it. The years 1900-1904 were ones of heavy immigration of Poles into the United States. The First World War marked, for all practical purposes, the end of the great peasant immigrations from Eastern Europe. Because Minnesota did not take a decennial census in 1915, Poles arriving in Minneapolis between 1905 and 1914 could not be included.

Having the 1905 Minnesota manuscript census with its names and countries of birth is not equivalent to having the ethnic affiliation of the listed individuals. Although one could be fairly certain that people from Norway were Norwegians and those from Sweden were Swedes, one cannot ascertain from the census which individuals were ethnic Poles. The reason is simple. There was no Poland in 1905. Poland had ceased being a sovereign entity in 1795 when the Prussian, Austrian, and Russian Empires divided the Polish state in the Third Partition. It was not resurrected again until 1918 when all three suffered political reversals at nearly the same moment.

Between 1795 and 1918 a person from the region which had been Poland may or may not have had his country of origin recorded properly by a federal or state census

taker depending, first, on the particular census and, second, on the particular census taker. The 1900 federal census, for example, gave a fairly complete report. Poland was included as one of the possible countries of origin. Poland was not among the possible countries listed in the federal census of 1910, however, even though the decade between these two censuses was one of intense Polish immigration. The 1905 Minnesota state census did record the number of people from Poland, but their number was grossly underestimated.¹ Poles not enumerated as being from Poland appeared as Germans, Austrians, or Russians.

To overcome the deficiencies of the 1905 manuscript census, I compiled a list of possible Poles by inspecting the manuscript for the city of Minneapolis and by picking out and recording the information given for all males whose names looked Slavic and whose country of origin was recorded as Germany, Austria, Russia, or Poland. The Minneapolis population of 261,974 yielded 4,043 males who could possibly be Poles.

The information recorded for each male was lengthy. It included last name, first name, address, ward, precinct, block, age, place of birth, father's place of birth, mother's place of birth, years and months in state,

¹Only 891 Poles were recorded in Minneapolis in 1905. Fifth Decennial Census of the State of Minnesota: 1905, (St. Paul: McGill-Warner Company, 1905), p. 145.

years and months in the enumeration district, occupation, family status, number of male children, total number of children and the page number of the census. This information was recorded on IBM cards.

An inspection of the 1905 City Directory provided a cross reference and confirmation of addresses and a check (and often another English rendering) of the names gathered from the census. Two English renderings of a name helped match the names in the census with those in church and fraternal society records.

The process was tedious by which a person's name, uttered or written in 1905 by the person in response to the census taker's interrogation, was converted into a series of holes on an IBM card seventy years later. It involved many steps and each step provided opportunities for misinterpretation.

The pronunciation and recording of the individual's name into English script came first. To the census taker, especially if he had no knowledge of the Slavic languages, the syllables his ears perceived and lip movements his eyes observed must have been bewildering. No doubt the census taker was aided at times by translators or people who could write their name or spell it out loud. Even then the census taker was faced with rendering the unfamiliar Slavic sounds and script into English. What did he do with Polish ſ, ĉ, †, ą, and ę; the Slovak ť, š,

and ž; or the Ukrainian name written in the Cyrillic alphabet?

The second step (roughly seventy years after the names had been written in longhand in the manuscript) was the deciphering of the census takers' script. Although not noted for their expert penmanship, most of the turn-of-the-century census takers' handwriting was nonetheless readable. Some was rotten. For this reason the cross-check with the 1905 City Directory was especially helpful. The Directory was printed, leaving no doubt about what the information gatherer had meant to put down.

Church and fraternal society records and histories, along with the names and country of origin information, formed the basis of the classification of individuals into their respective ethnic groups. Basically, I used the "duck" method to identify a person's ethnicity. The approach is this: if a bird that looks like a duck, walks like a duck, flies like a duck, and quacks like a duck, chances are the bird is a duck. Likewise, if a person with a Polish name from Austria, Germany, or Russia belonged to a Polish parish or a Polish fraternal society and read books from a Polish library, I assumed that, more likely than not, he was Polish. This is admittedly a subjective approach, but I believe it is effective.

The church and fraternal society records were of varying usefulness. Some were written in longhand. Some

were printed. Some were on paper which was like new. Some were falling apart with age and maltreatment. Appendix I contains a full list of the records used. Most of the Polish organizations' records were in Polish or English although a few Polish priests had recorded the names, especially first names, in Latin. Records from Slovak sources were written using the Czech or Hungarian alphabets since the Slovaks had not yet developed their own. The Ukrainians used a Cyrillic script which is quite similar to modern Russian script.

Knowing the Polish letter system was of immeasurable help in using the records and matching up names in them with those appearing in the census (see Appendix II). Especially troublesome to the English speaking census takers were the "cz" and "sz" combinations and the nasal vowels "g" and "ɛ," pronounced like the French "on" in bon and the French "un" in Verdun. Another difficult letter was the Polish "ż", which, in Poland, depending on the region and social class of the speaker, may be pronounced either as the English "l" or "w".

The search through nearly 262,000 names in the 1905 manuscript census, yielded a list of 4,043 males who bore Slavic names other than Czech. Czech individuals were readily distinguishable in the manuscript census from other Slavs by their names and by the way they insisted on having Bohemia, rather than Austria, recorded as their

country of origin.

Through the use of the records of various ethnic organizations, 1,785 males were identified as Poles (Table 2-1). Recall that the state census indicated only 891 Poles of both sexes. There were 530 females living with the 1,785 males, bringing the known Polish population to 2,315. The second and third largest Slavic groups were the Slovaks and Ruthenians. The use of the ethnic organizational records allowed for the classification of 80.2 percent of the possible Slavic males into their respective groups.

TABLE 2-1
SLAVIC MALES IN MINNEAPOLIS: 1905^a

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u> ^b
Poles	1,785 ^c	44.6
Slovaks	880	22.0
Ruthenians	511	12.8
Ukrainians	18	.5
Czechs	11	.3
Duplicate Entries	45	0
Not Identified	793	19.8
Total	4,043	100.0

^aSource: 1905 Manuscript Census of Minnesota, State Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota and ethnic organizations (see Appendix I).

^bExcludes duplicate entries from calculations.

^cThis figure does not include unidentified Polish males, their families or Polish females living apart from Polish males. These individuals might bring the total to between 3,000 and 3,500 Poles for 1905.

Addresses were determined from the 1905 census for that year and from the city directories for subsequent years and were located using a 1905 Minneapolis street map. Determining the position of each individual on the correct block was complicated by the fact that the street pattern of early Minneapolis paralleled the Mississippi River, which did not follow a straight path. Where the river turned, the grid of parallel and perpendicular streets also turned. Farther away from the downtown area, the street pattern was aligned with the cardinal direction orientation of the Federal Rectangular Survey. A street, then, might turn two or more times in its course.

To further complicate matters, the numbering system in the older part of the city was not regular. Numbers between 100 and 200 in the older sections of town, for example, might extend over two or three consecutive blocks rather than just one block, as is common in most American cities. The numbers on a few parallel streets between two intersecting parallel streets were not even within the same numerical range. Fortunately, most of these problems were eased in the newer sections of town which followed the cardinally oriented grid. The city directories provided the proper range of numbers along every street between intersecting streets. Unfortunately, most of the Poles lived in the older, more complicated parts of the city.

Within each block the position of the residence had to be estimated. Although the size and shape of the city blocks varied, most blocks were about one-fifteenth of a mile square. Position on the block could easily be estimated, using the range of address numbers, to within half a block. The estimated position of the residence is, therefore, within two to three hundred feet of its true position.

The position of each individual was not actually plotted on the map. Rather the position's coordinates on an orthogonal grid, whose origin was city hall, were electronically recorded on IBM cards using a digitizer. Distances along the axes are measured in miles, with positive values to the north and east of city hall on the respective axes. Little inaccuracy was introduced by using a digitizer. Given the scale of the base map, the accuracy of the digitizer was within two feet, a figure much more accurate than the plotter's estimations.

Each recorded position was double checked. Those outside Northeast Minneapolis were checked manually. Those within Northeast, the majority, were computer checked by comparing the individual's position with the position of the block's center. A printout of individuals too far from block's center enabled me to eliminate obvious misplots.

CHAPTER III

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION IN THE STUDY AREA IN 1905

Geographic analysis begins with locating the phenomenon under study in space. "Whereness" has always been of major concern to the geographer, whether he emphasizes the discipline's scientific or artistic dimensions. The map has ever been the point of departure for his questions. In this chapter, I present the distribution of Poles in Minneapolis, focusing on Northeast Minneapolis, and describe briefly the distribution of other groups in Northeast.

Where were the Poles of Minneapolis in 1905? This question could not be answered without answering the question, "Who was a Pole?" The methods used to answer the latter question were discussed in Chapter II. Suffice it to say here that the series of maps which follows is based on individual and aggregate data.

Data concerning males were collected using the manuscript portion of the Fifth Decennial Census of Minnesota, 1905. Data aggregated at the block level in Northeast Minneapolis were derived from the same source, but females are included in the aggregate figures. Extensive individual data were not collected for females for the simple reason that in our culture it is the male

who retains his surname when a marriage is contracted. The movements of males are, therefore, easier to follow in migration studies.

Four categories of Poles were identified and mapped; Poles who gave as their place of birth Germany, Russia, Austria, or simply Poland.¹ Since Poland did not exist as a nation from the Third Partition of 1795 to 1918, it is remarkable that in 1905 anyone should give his place of birth as Poland unless he had a strong identification with the place. Although the giving of Poland as the place of birth is proof of strong identification between person and place, this declaration does not help to determine in any greater detail the person's origin within that area. The people who gave their place of birth as Poland to the census taker and whose origin could not subsequently be determined using parish and fraternal society records comprise the unspecified group in the map series.

Polish males were plotted on dot maps. Each dot represents one male who was born in the Polish areas of Germany, Austria, or Russia, or the son of one of these individuals. The boundaries of Minneapolis shown are the present ones. The only significant boundary change since 1905 is the addition of a four-block wide strip along the extreme southern border. The mean center of each

¹Males who were born in the United States were assigned their father's classification.

distribution was calculated and plotted. The mean center is a crude measure of central tendency and must be interpreted with caution because it is greatly influenced by extreme values. Its position does not even have to lie within the boundaries of the area under consideration, much less in the region of greatest concentration of the phenomenon. Irregular and bimodal distributions can render interpretation of the mean center difficult.

How, then, were the various Poles distributed? The German Poles were among the first to leave Poland and to come to America and Minneapolis (Figure 3-1 and Table 3-1). In 1905 their major concentration was in Northeast Minneapolis (Figure 3-3 and Tables 3-2 and 3-3). Over three-fourths of them lived there. Most lived between Broadway and Seventeenth Avenues, several blocks east of the Mississippi River. Outside Northeast there was no significant cluster of German Poles. Those German Poles not living in Northeast were scattered through the lower Northside and just east and south of city hall. The German Poles were more widely dispersed than any other group of Poles in 1905, their standard distance of 1.31 miles being by far the greatest (Table 3-2).

The Austrian Poles (Figure 3-4), on the other hand, were both the most numerous and the least scattered, their standard distance being only .76 miles (Table 3-2). They arrived in Minneapolis somewhat later than the German

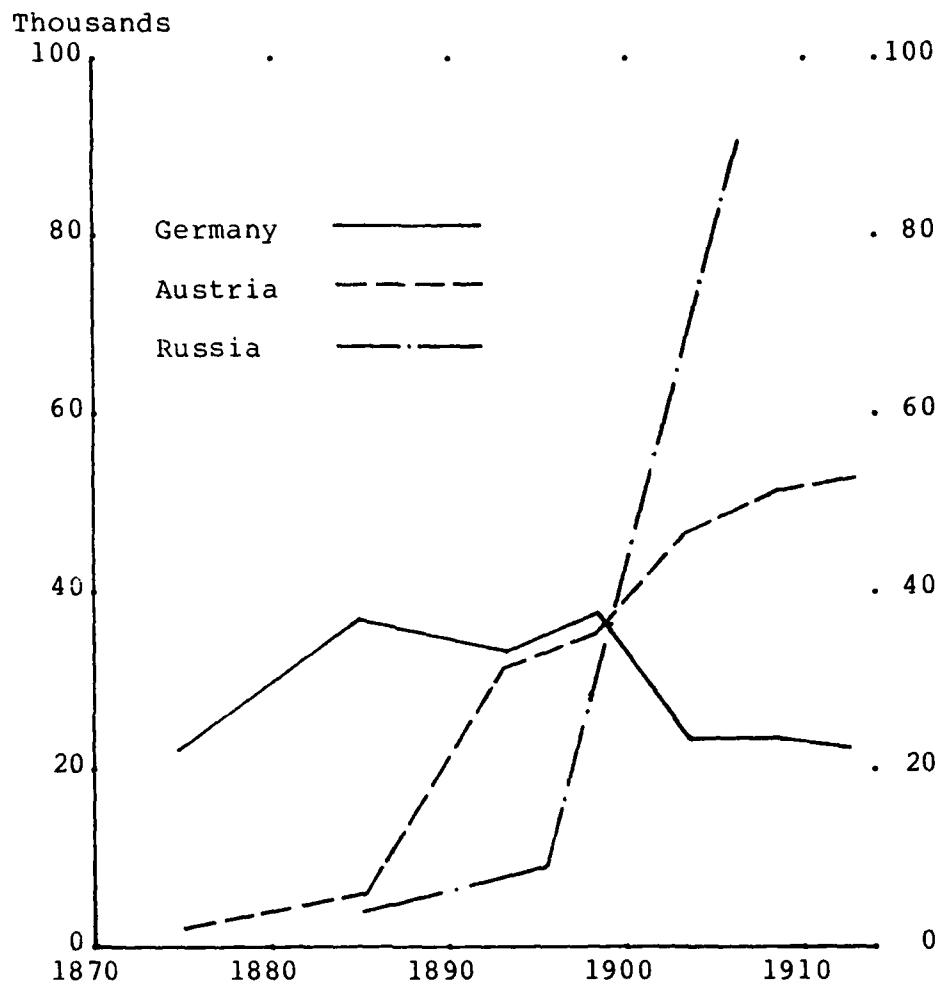


FIGURE 3-1 Emigration From Partitioned Poland
 Source: Jerzy Zubrzycki, Polish Immigration in Britain, (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), pp. 9, 19, 22. All figures are estimates.

TABLE 3-1
 ARRIVAL TIMING OF FOREIGN-BORN POLES IN NORTHEAST IN 1905

Origin	Percentage arrived number of years before 1905						Total
	Over 20	20->15	15->10	10->5	5-0		
Germany	26.4	16.5	33.0	8.8	15.4		100.1
Austria	3.5	6.6	14.2	10.1	65.7		100.1
Russia	3.3	3.3	26.2	6.5	55.7		100.0
Unspecified	8.8	5.4	14.6	18.3	52.9		100.0

TABLE 3-2
DISTRIBUTION OF MINNEAPOLIS' POLISH MALES IN 1905

	Germany	Austria	Russia	Unspecified	Total
Number	293	864	129	499	1785
Mean Center					
N-S Coordinate	1.480	1.505	1.502	1.405	1.473
E-W Coordinate	0.055	-0.057	-0.033	0.053	-0.009
Standard Distance	1.309	0.757	1.054	0.985	0.957

TABLE 3-3
POLES IN NORTHEAST

	Germany	Austria	Russia	Unspecified	Total
Number	227	721	92	374	1414
Percentage of Minneapolis population	77.5	83.4	71.3	74.9	79.2
Mean Center					
N-S Coordinate	1.758	1.555	1.906	1.551	1.609
E-W Coordinate	0.211	0.050	0.155	0.153	0.110
Standard Distance	0.397	0.626	0.368	0.593	0.586

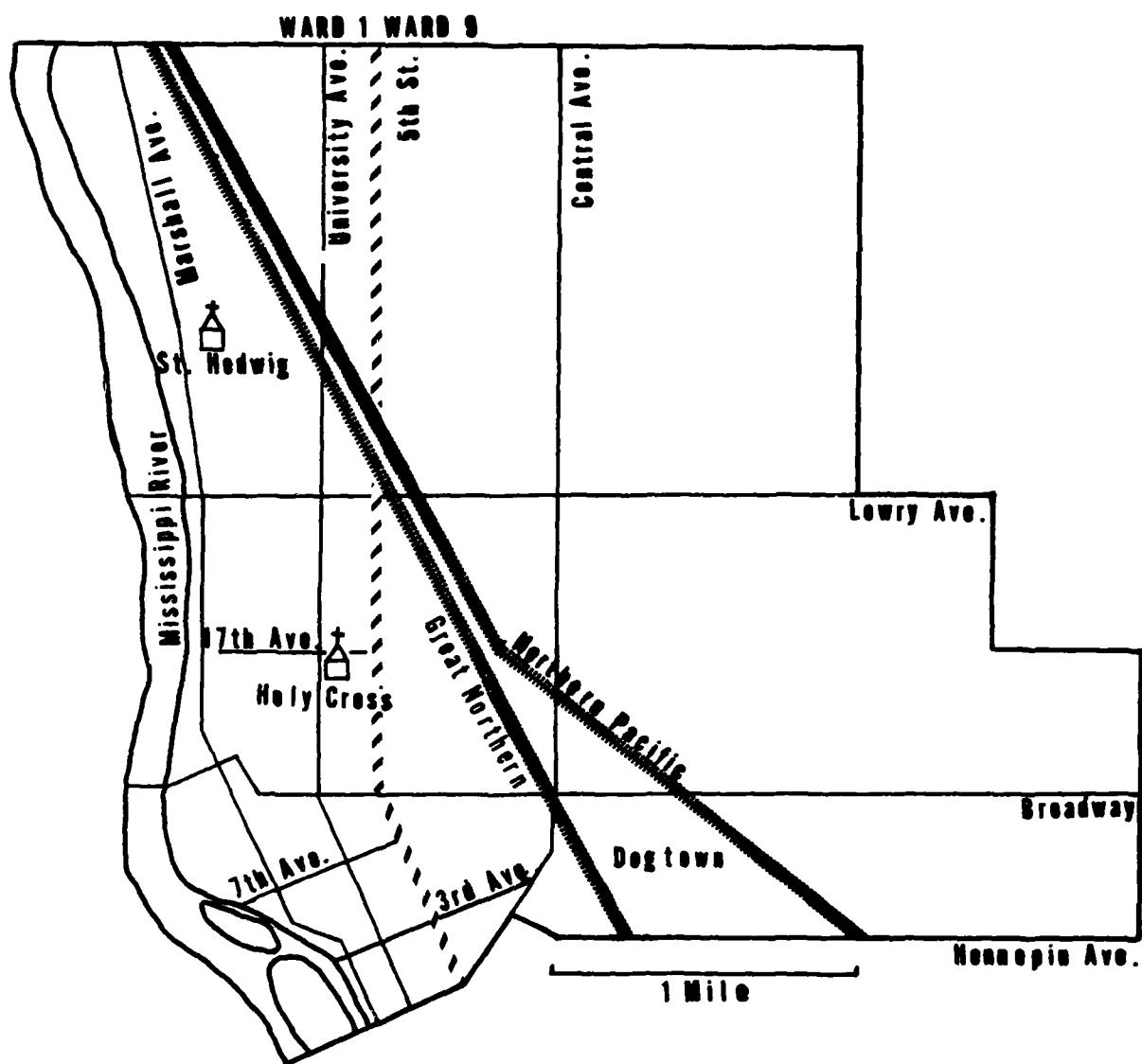


FIGURE 3-2 Northeast Reference Map

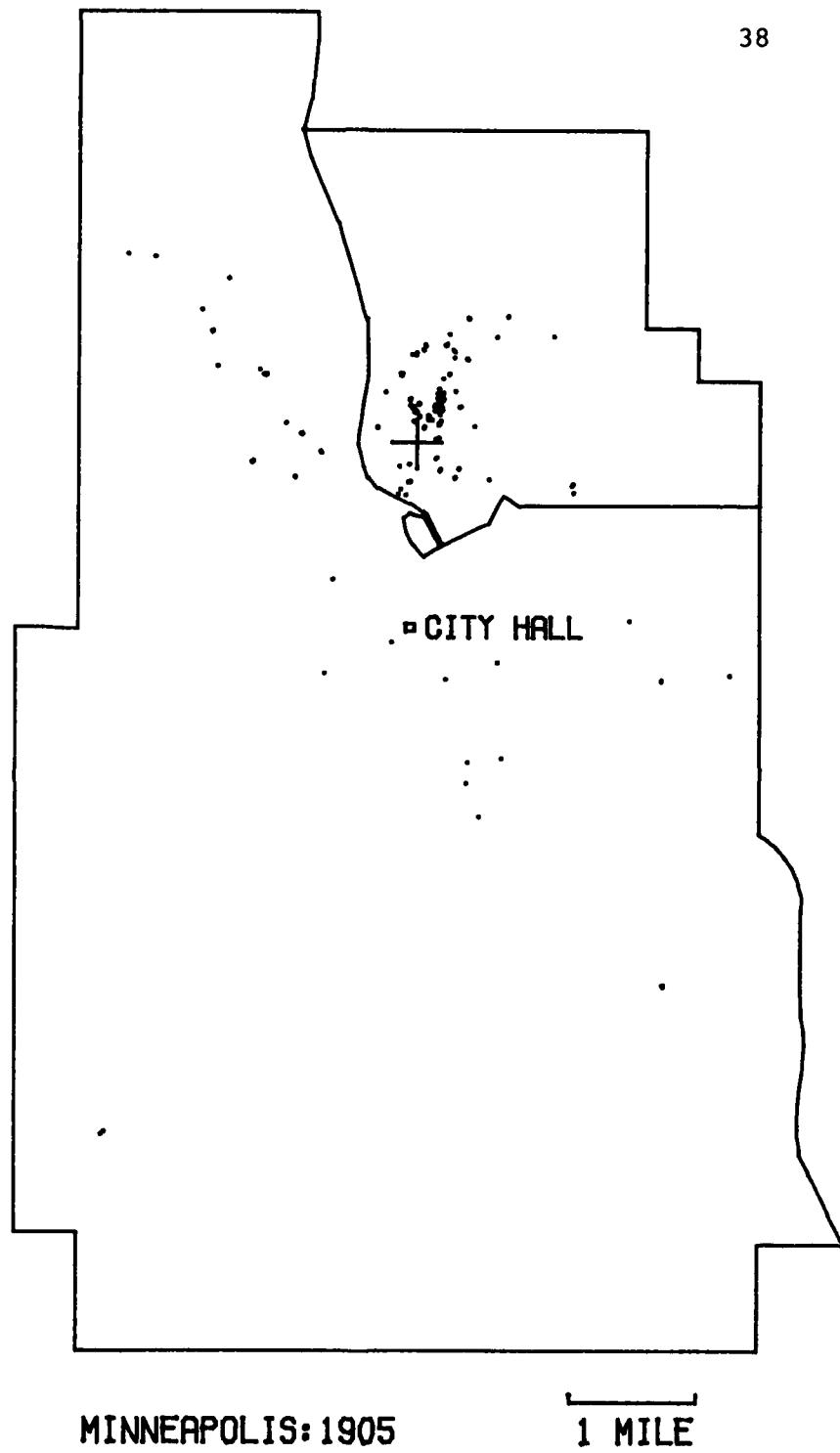
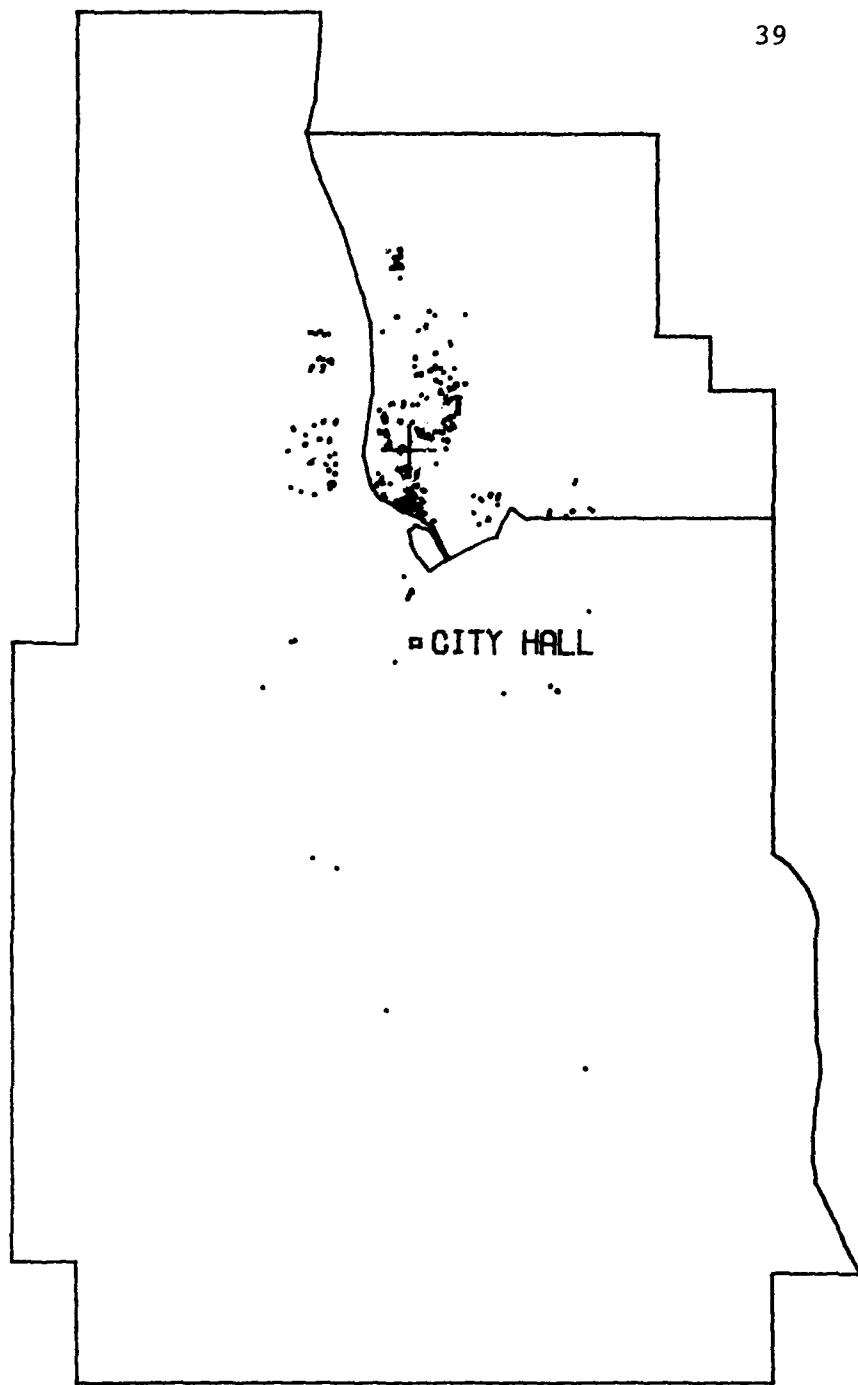


FIGURE 3-3 MALE GERMAN POLES



MINNEAPOLIS: 1905

1 MILE

FIGURE 3-4 MALE AUSTRIAN POLES

Poles, but, like the German Poles, they were concentrated in Northeast (over 83 percent). Whereas the German Poles were centered north of Broadway, the Austrian Poles seemed to surround this German concentration. More importantly, the Austrian Poles were heavily concentrated around Seventh Avenue adjoining the River. Scattered outliers in Northeast existed near the River at Thirtieth Avenue and in the lower part of Northeast to either side of Central Avenue. The only large cluster of Poles outside of Northeast were Austrian Poles living on the west side of the Mississippi in North Minneapolis, just abeam the main body of Poles in Northeast. These people comprised the membership of St. Philip's Polish parish. Few Austrian Poles lived south of city hall.

Russian Poles (Figure 3-5) were the least numerous of the four groups. Most lived in Northeast where their distribution was similar to the German Poles'. They arrived slightly in advance of the Austrian Poles (Table 3-1). No large concentration of Russian Poles existed outside of Northeast

The unspecified group of Poles (Figure 3-6), like all the others, was concentrated in Northeast. After the Austrian Poles, they were the most numerous and their standard distance was next lowest after the Austrian Poles. Both within Northeast and outside, their distribution seems most closely to resemble that of the Austrian Poles.

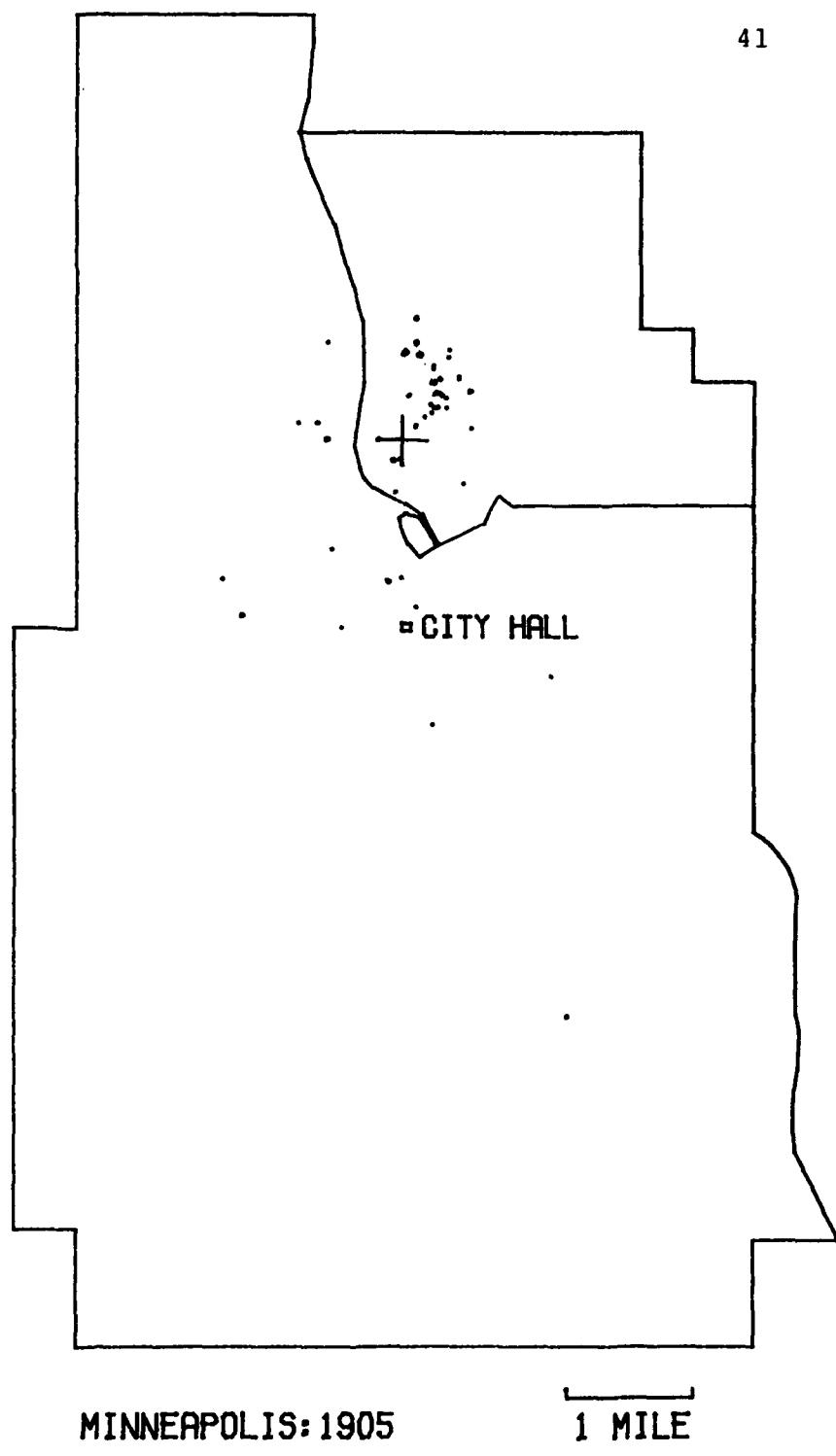
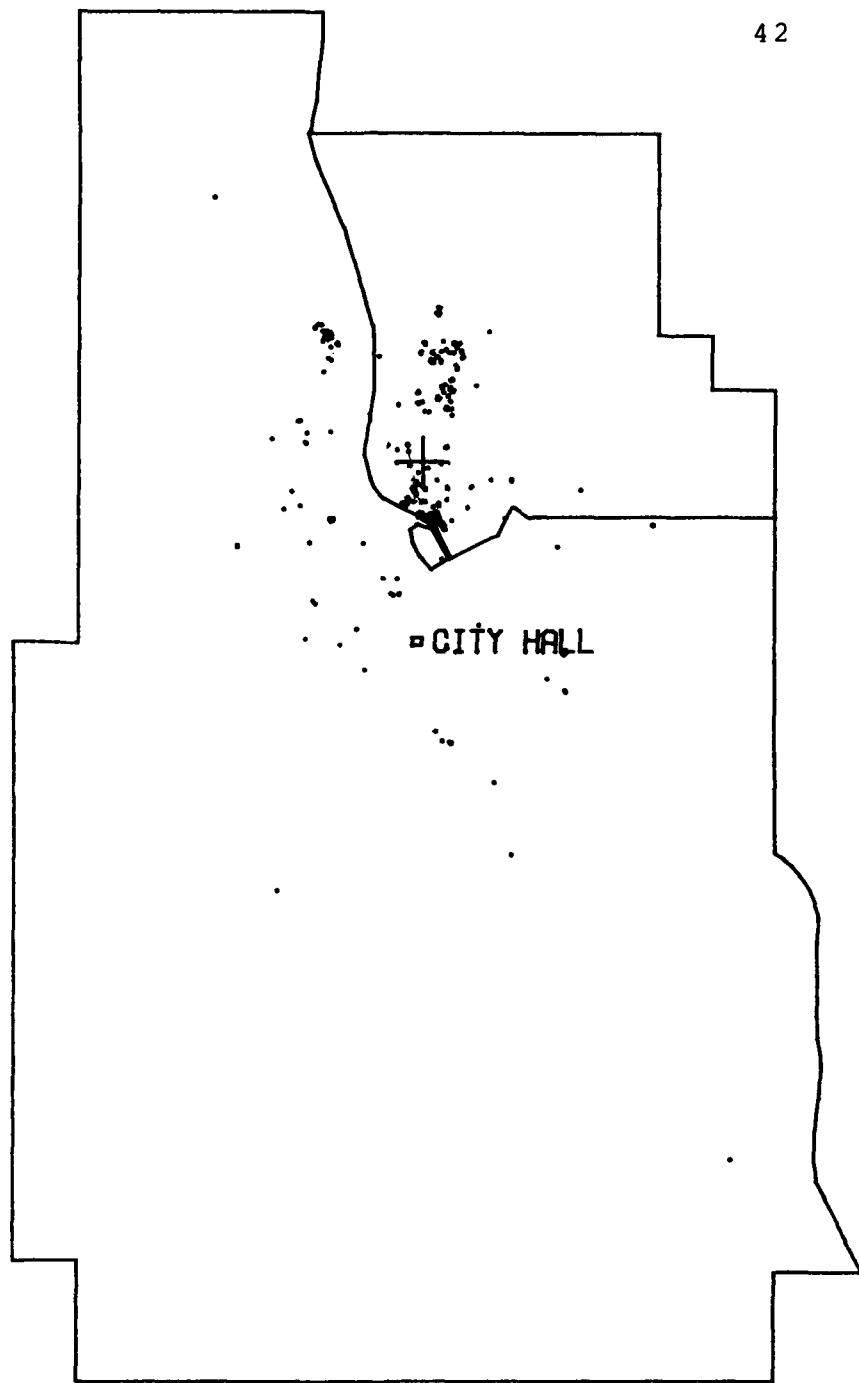


FIGURE 3-5 MALE RUSSIAN POLES



MINNEAPOLIS: 1905

1 MILE

FIGURE 3-6 MALE UNSPECIFIED POLES

Most likely, the majority of the unspecified group were Austrian Poles. Three facts suggest this. First, the clustering of the two groups were much alike, especially in the Seventh Avenue area. Second, of the 1286 Poles who could be assigned with some degree of assurance to the German, Austrian, or Russian Empires, over two-thirds came from Austrian Poland. Third, in the Fifth Avenue-River area a strange phenomenon occurred. For two blocks north of Fifth Avenue all the Poles were listed as being from Austria. For two blocks south of Fifth Avenue they were listed as being from Poland. The most probable explanation is that on both sides of Fifth Avenue, the Poles were from Austrian Poland, but were recorded differently by two different census takers. Fifth Avenue happened to be a precinct boundary and, hence, an enumeration district boundary.

The Minneapolis Poles in 1905 were, when combined, (Figure 3-7) concentrated north of the city's center. Their mean center was located almost one and a half miles directly north of city hall. Their standard distance was just under one mile (.96 miles). Nearly four-fifths were located in Northeast, primarily in the First Ward. Within this ward, they were concentrated between Third and Thirty-first Avenues from south to north and within about ten blocks of the River. Their distribution within the First Ward was not even. Major clusters existed around

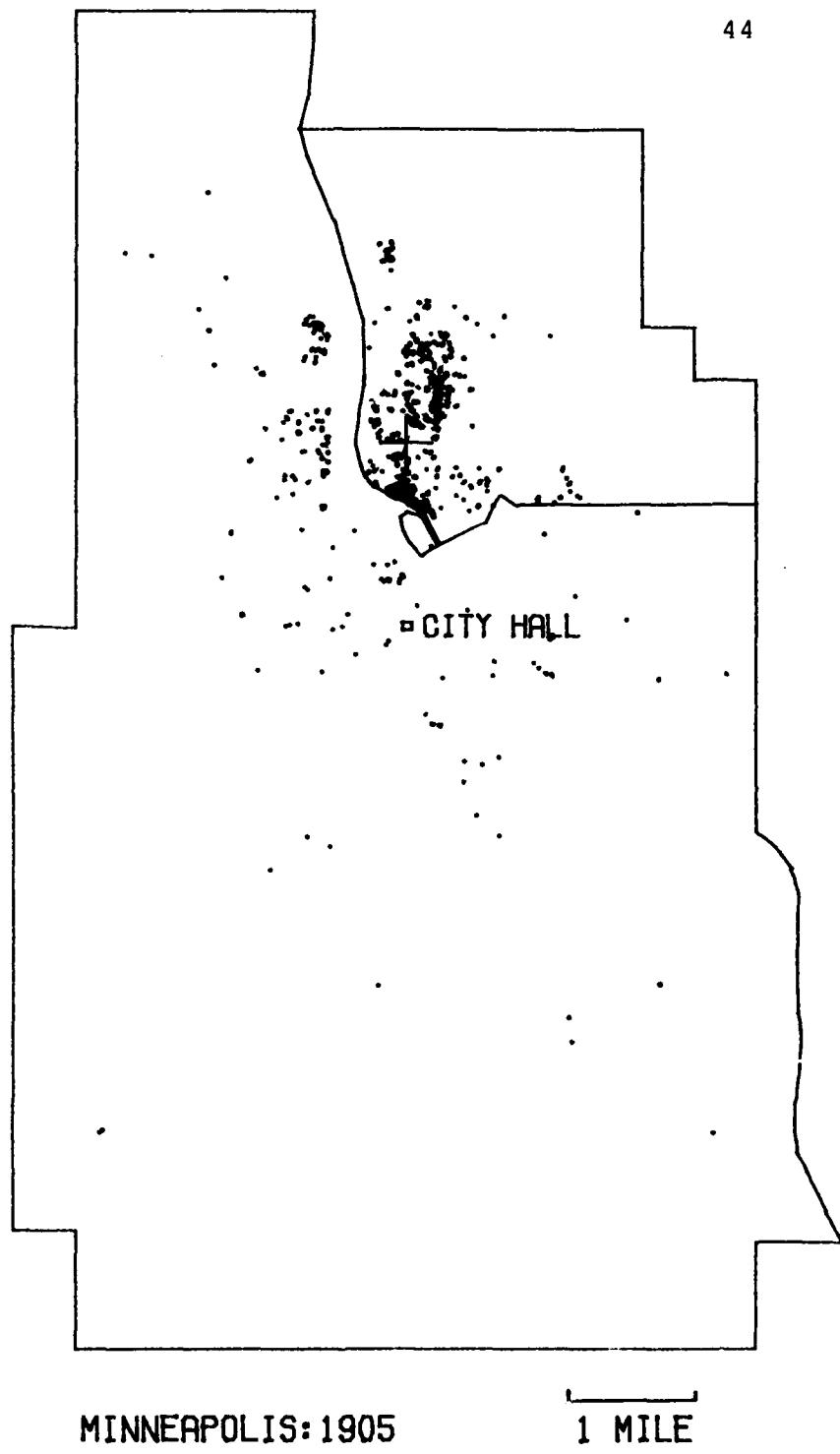


FIGURE 3-7 ALL POLISH MALES

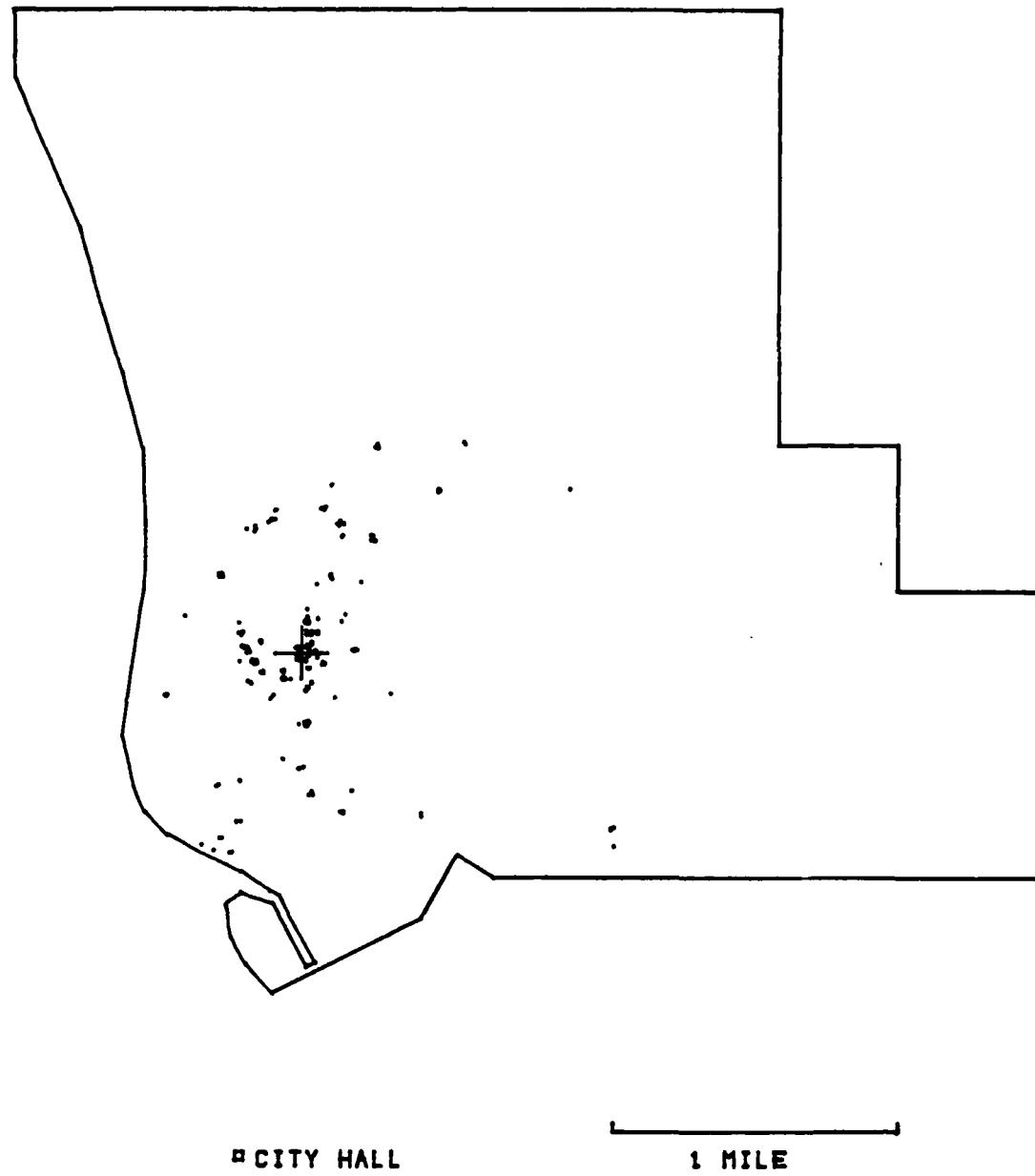
Holy Cross Church, the largest Polish parish in the city, and near the River at Seventh Avenue. Across the River in North Minneapolis a much smaller cluster roughly paralleled the linear distribution in Northeast. The rest of the Poles in Minneapolis were scattered within a two or three mile radius of city hall.

The dot map of Minneapolis probably does not give the correct impression of Northeast's numerical importance. As with any dot map, areas of heavy concentration appear less important than they really are because each dot takes up some space on the map and, where crowded, merge with each other to become indistinguishable. Several ways around this problem are to supplement the map with tables, to use some measure of central tendency, to depict some form of special symbol representing a very large increment at the concentrated points, and, finally, to draw a new map at an expanded scale. Tables 3-2 and 3-3 are offered partially to overcome the shortcomings of the dot map of Minneapolis. Each Polish group had over 71 percent in Northeast (Table 3-3). A comparison of the mean center of each group's distribution in Minneapolis with that group's mean center just in Northeast reveals little difference between the two. The greatest difference is actually less than half a mile (for the Russian Poles). The large number of Poles in Northeast counter-balanced the moments of the extreme cases existing outside Northeast.

Dot maps of the four groups were plotted at an expanded scale for increased definition of the various groups' distributions in Northeast (Figures 3-8 to 3-12). These maps reflect the obvious fact that human beings live in families, the tight little clusters of two, three, or four dots indicating fathers, sons, or brothers living in the same house. At the regional level clustering is also evident. That is, immigrants from German, Austrian, and Russian Poland did tend to cluster in specific areas of Minneapolis. One does not, however, encounter a series of blocks where all Poles are from Austria sharply divided and easily differentiated from a series in which all are from Germany. One finds, rather, that mixing did occur among the groups, but that one group was numerically dominant in one area, another group in another area. The Austrian Poles, for example, were relatively more numerous in the vicinity of Seventh Avenue and the River and also near the Marshall-Thirtieth Avenue region (Figure 3-9). The German Poles were strong in the vicinity of Holy Cross Church although Austrian and Russian Poles were present (Figure 3-8). The Russian Poles were dominant in no area, but most were within four-tenths of a mile of their mean center (Table 3-3). Not much can be said about the relative distribution of the unspecified group since by definition their origins within Poland are not known. Their distribution did resemble that of the Austrian Poles with

FIGURE 3-8

47

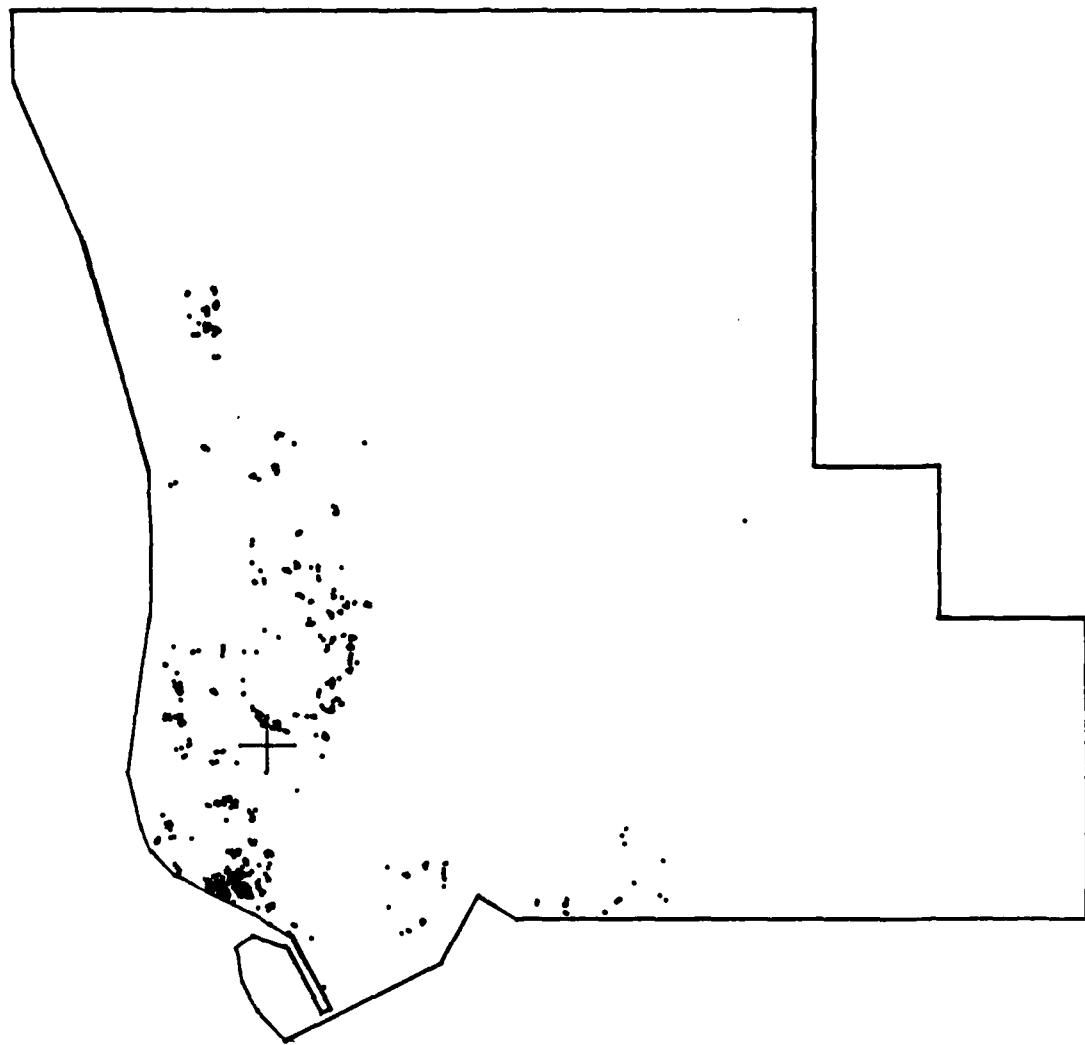


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

MALE GERMAN POLES

FIGURE 3-9

48



■ CITY HALL

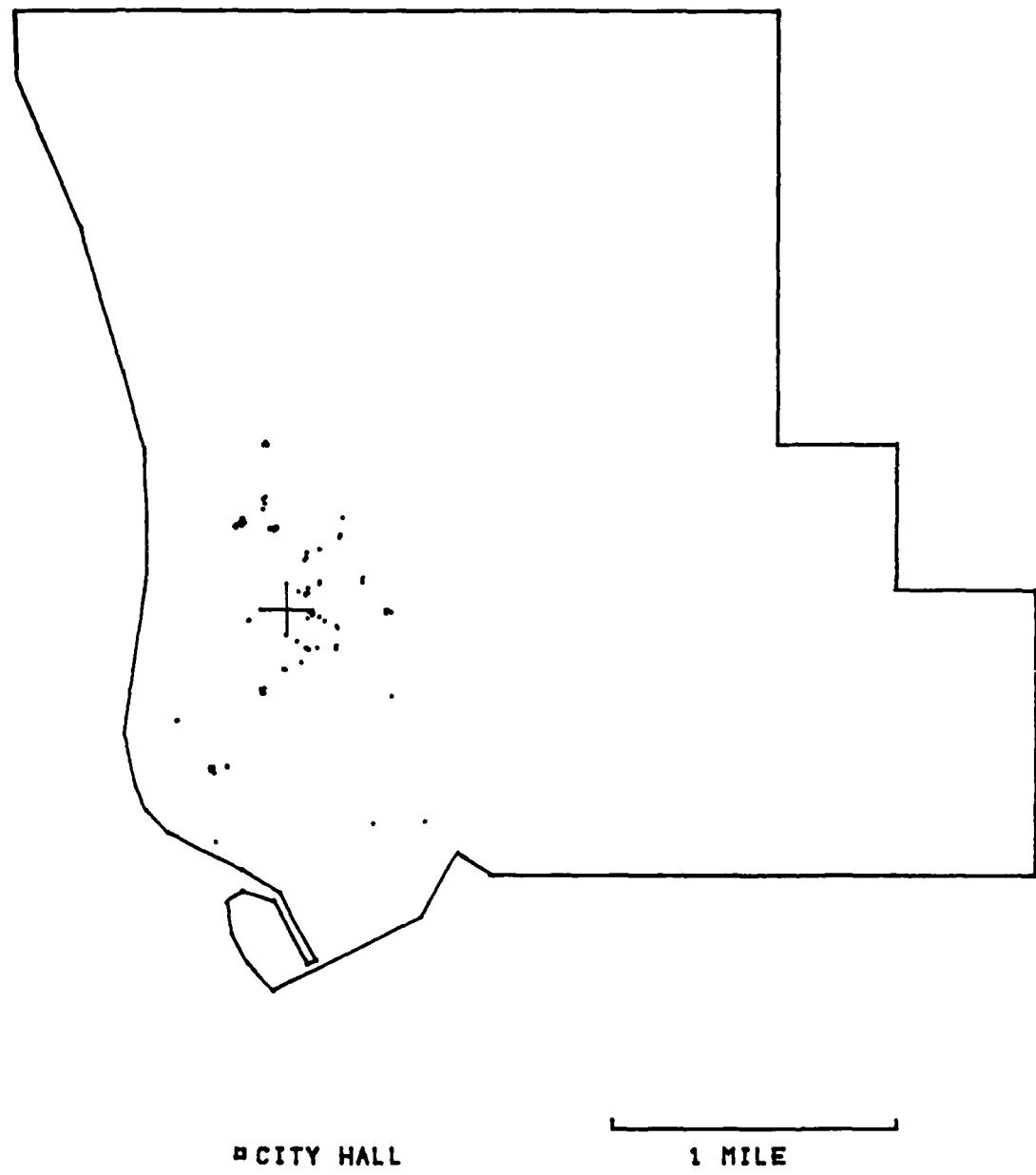
1 MILE

NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

MALE AUSTRIAN POLES

FIGURE 3-10

49

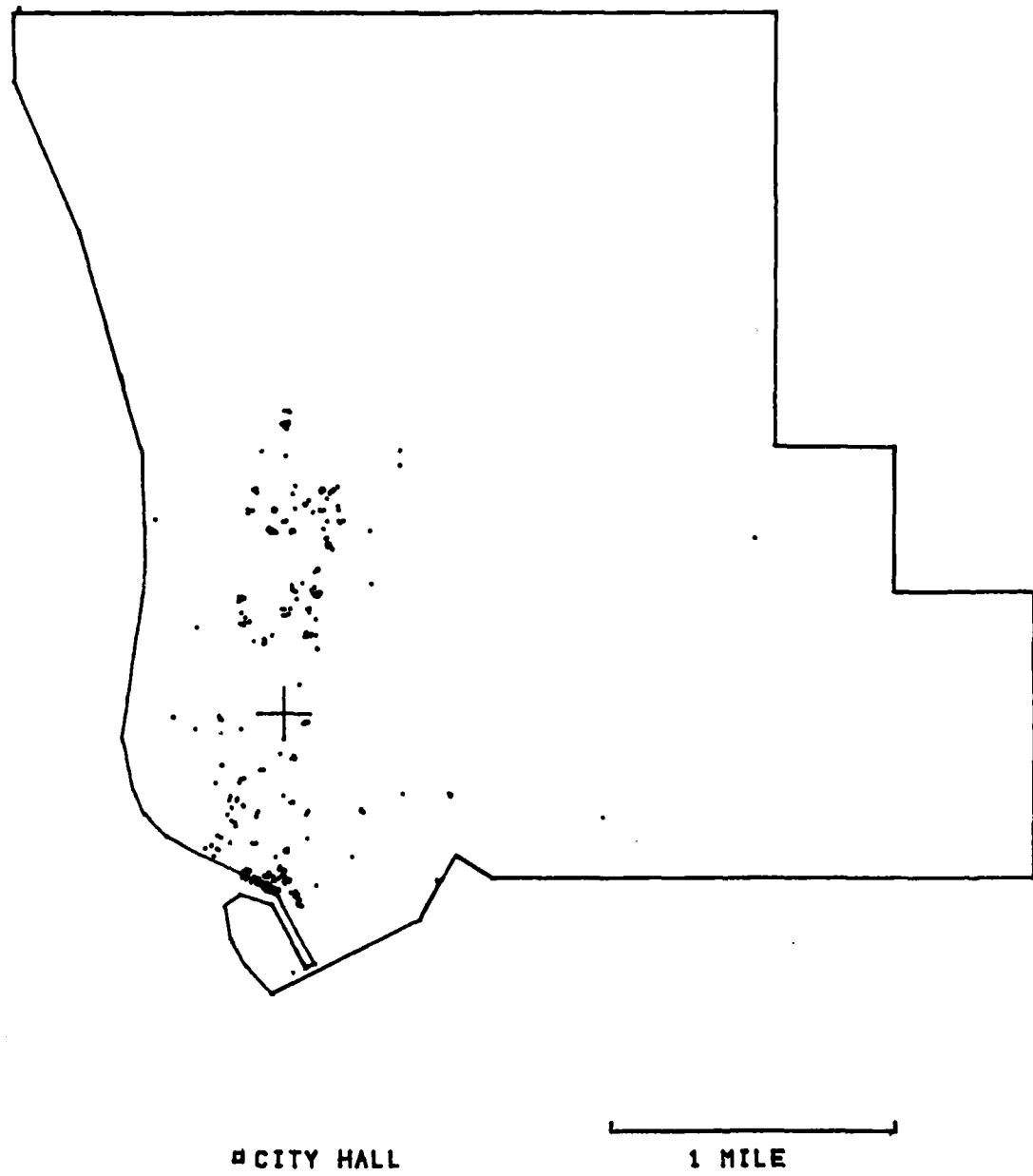


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

MALE RUSSIAN POLES

FIGURE 3-11

50

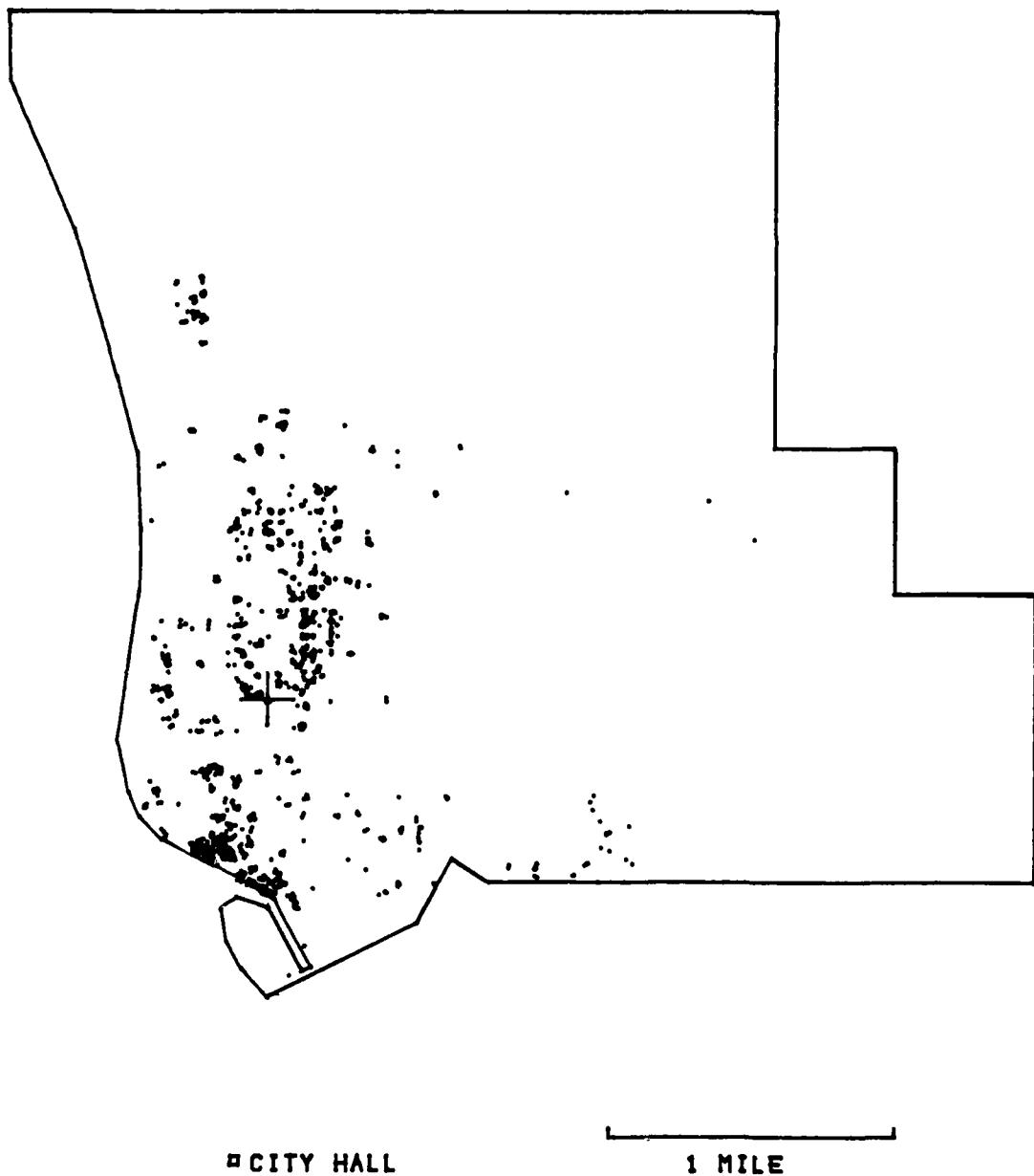


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

MALE UNSPECIFIED POLES

FIGURE 3-12

51



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

ALL POLISH MALES

the greatest concentration being in the Fifth Avenue-River area.

Had it been possible to include a map of Northeast depicting each category of Poles in a different color, a more vivid impression of the relative distribution among them could have been derived. Caution should be exercised in interpreting the relative distributions of the German, Austrian, and Russian Poles in as much as these categories do not really constitute ethnic groups per se. The categories are somewhat arbitrary. I found no evidence to suggests that, for example, an Austrian Pole differentiated himself over against a German or Russian Pole in the same way he would over against a Slovak, Ruthenian, Swede, or Yankee. That is not to say provincial loyalties did not exist within the Polish Minneapolis community, only that they were not observed. If such provincial loyalties did exist, they were at a scale lower than the three-fold Partition of Poland. The Partition scale was used because it was the smallest scale for which information concerning the immigrants' origins was available. The real conduits for the flow of information that a prospective immigrant relied on to guide his movements were familial and friendship networks. It is entirely possible that some of these networks overlapped Partition boundaries. A Pole in Prussian Silesia could have had much more contact, before and after coming to America, with his cousin across the

border in Austrian Silesia than with another Pole who was from Prussian dominated Pomerania. A final caution is that other factors could have produced the same distribution.

When the entire host of Poles in Northeast is considered (Figure 3-12), the conclusions are much the same as those derived from the consideration of their distribution in all of Minneapolis. This distribution is neither regular nor random, but clustered. Few lived far from the main concentration. In Northeast this concentration parallels the River in a north-south direction and has a width of about one mile.

The discussion has centered on describing the distribution of Poles in Minneapolis and Northeast, the area of their greatest concentration. Attention now turns to the distribution of the other major ethnic groups in Northeast. This description will reveal the groups which lived near the Poles and those which did not. The series of maps will also provide a base against which intra-city migration after 1905 can be evaluated.

Information for this series of maps was collected from the 1905 manuscript census at the same time information for Slavic males was recorded. Using a 1905 base map, I assigned each block a number and kept a tally of the national origins of each individual. American-born individuals with foreign-born parents were assigned their parents' national origin. If the parents came from

different nations, the offspring were assigned to the father's country. The number of cases to which this rule had to be applied was quite small. Marriages across ethnic lines were very few in 1905 Minneapolis.

These maps differ from the dot maps in three important respects. First, the classification is based only on the data contained in the census. No other source, like church records, was used, except where noted. Second, the information is aggregated rather than for individuals. Location and magnitude are displayed by one graduated symbol per block, the level of aggregation. Third, the tally includes all individuals, females as well as males.

A map showing the percentage which each ethnic group comprised of the block population accompanies each graduated symbol map. Two sizes of squares are depicted on these percentage maps. The large squares indicate that the group had fifty or more percent of the population. The small squares indicate a percentage between thirty and fifty. One qualification needs to be added concerning the maps. Although each block having at least one individual was plotted on the population maps, only those blocks having at least ten representatives of the subject group were plotted on the percentage maps. For example, in plotting the percentage maps for Swedes, the computer would calculate and plot only those blocks having at least ten Swedes and the requisite percentage of fifty or more or

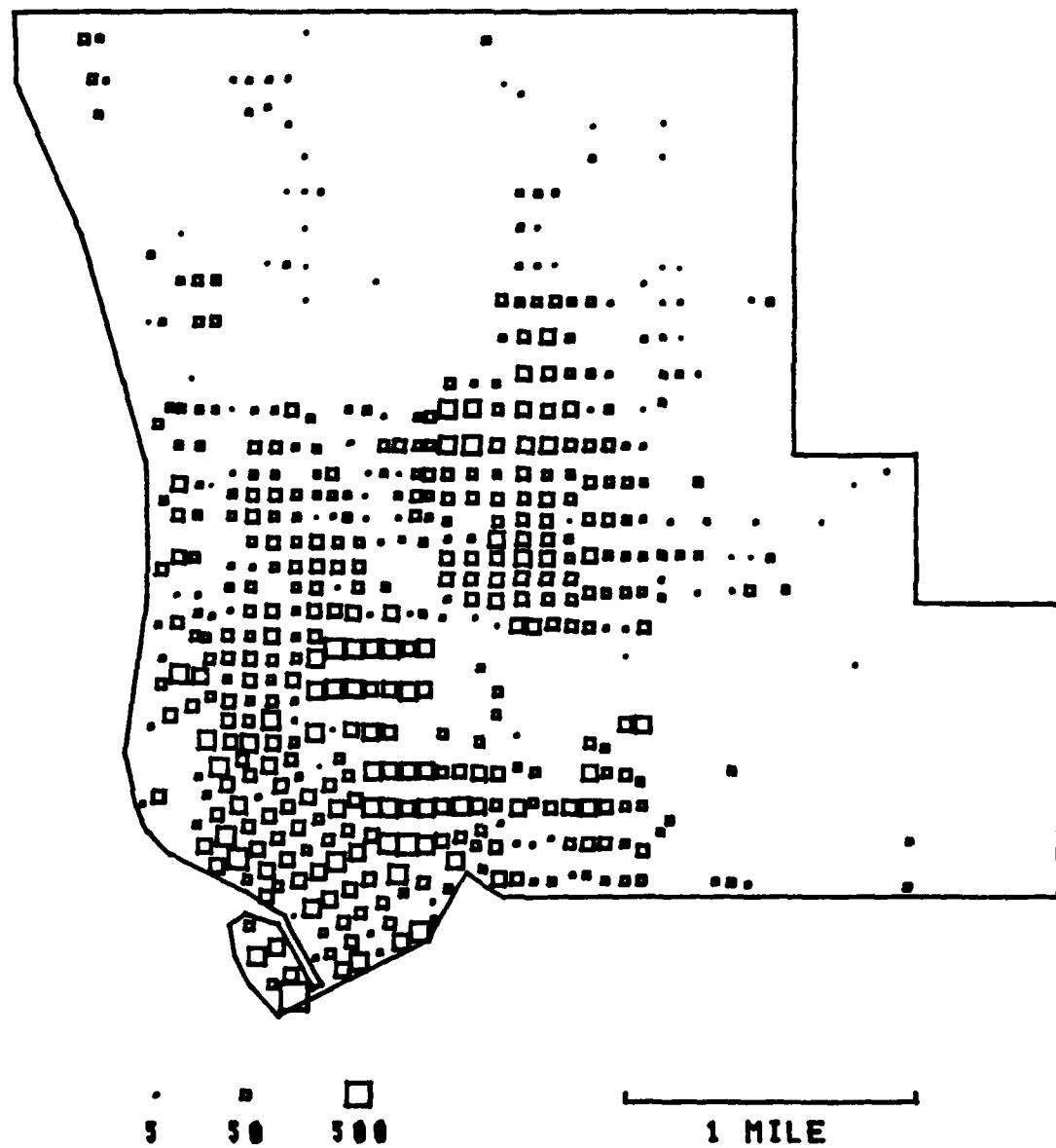
between thirty and fifty. A block having nine people, all of whom were Swedes, would not be plotted. This selection eliminated the plotting of blocks with very few people, but large percentages of one group.

Northeast's population was 40,763 in 1905.² Since many rail lines ran through Northeast, the settlement pattern was not continuous. Two major areas of settlement had developed on either side of a double-tracked line owned by the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads which ran in a northwest-southeast direction (Figure 3-13). The bulk of the population lived southwest of this line, closer to the city's center, in an area bounded by the River on the west, Hennepin Avenue on the south, the Great Northern tracks along the northeast edge, and the Minneapolis-Sault St. Marie tracks (roughly Twenty-seventh Avenue) on the north. For ease of reference this area will henceforth be called Lower Northeast. The second settlement cluster in Northeast lay to the northeast of the double-tracked line. This area formed the urban fringe of this part of the city until the 1950s and 1960s. I shall refer to this area as Upper Northeast. The extreme northwest and southeast portions of Northeast then displayed, as they do now, only sparse islands of settlement. Most of the land in these sections was devoted to industrial and recreational use.

²Decennial Census of the State of Minnesota, 1905,
(St. Paul: McGill-Warner Company, 1905), p. 17.

FIGURE 3-13

56



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: POPULATION

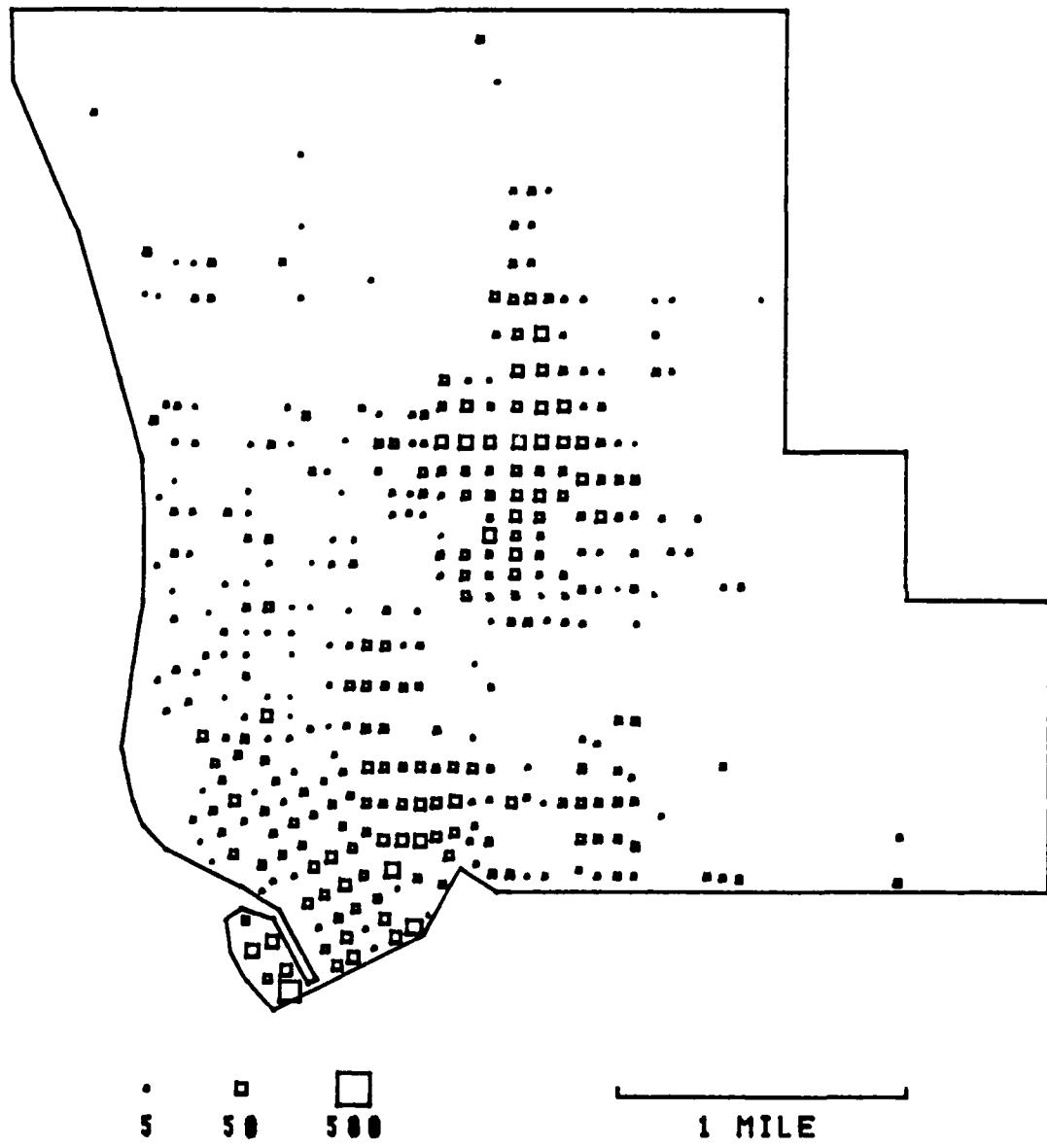
The Yankee population of 1905 was large and widely scattered (Figure 3-14 and 3-15). Over 70 percent of all blocks had some Yankees. They were strongest on and within a few blocks of the main commercial streets, such as Hennepin, Central, and Lowry Avenues, and in the recently settled region where Lowry and Central intersect. Their lack of strength was most noticeable near the River in Lower Northeast. The Yankee element was composed of people born in the United States whose parents were also born in America. Their names were primarily English, Scottish and Germanic. Although a few were from Southern states, the primary locus of their origin ran from Maine through New England, New York, and Pennsylvania to Ohio.

Swedes, like the Yankees, were numerous and widely spread, but they were concentrated in Ward 9 (Figure 3-16). Fifth Street, the ward boundary, essentially separated Scandinavian from Slavic territory. Although present in small numbers between Fifth Street and the River in Lower Northeast, this region was definitely no Little Sweden. In terms of percentage strength, the Swedish area straddled the double-tracked rail line (Figure 3-17).

The Norwegian distribution was much like the Swedish, except that the Norwegians were less numerous (Figures 3-18 and 3-19). Because there were fewer Norwegians than Swedes, their presence is not as notable on the percentage map. A comparison of the Scandinavian, Yankee, and Slavic

FIGURE 3-14

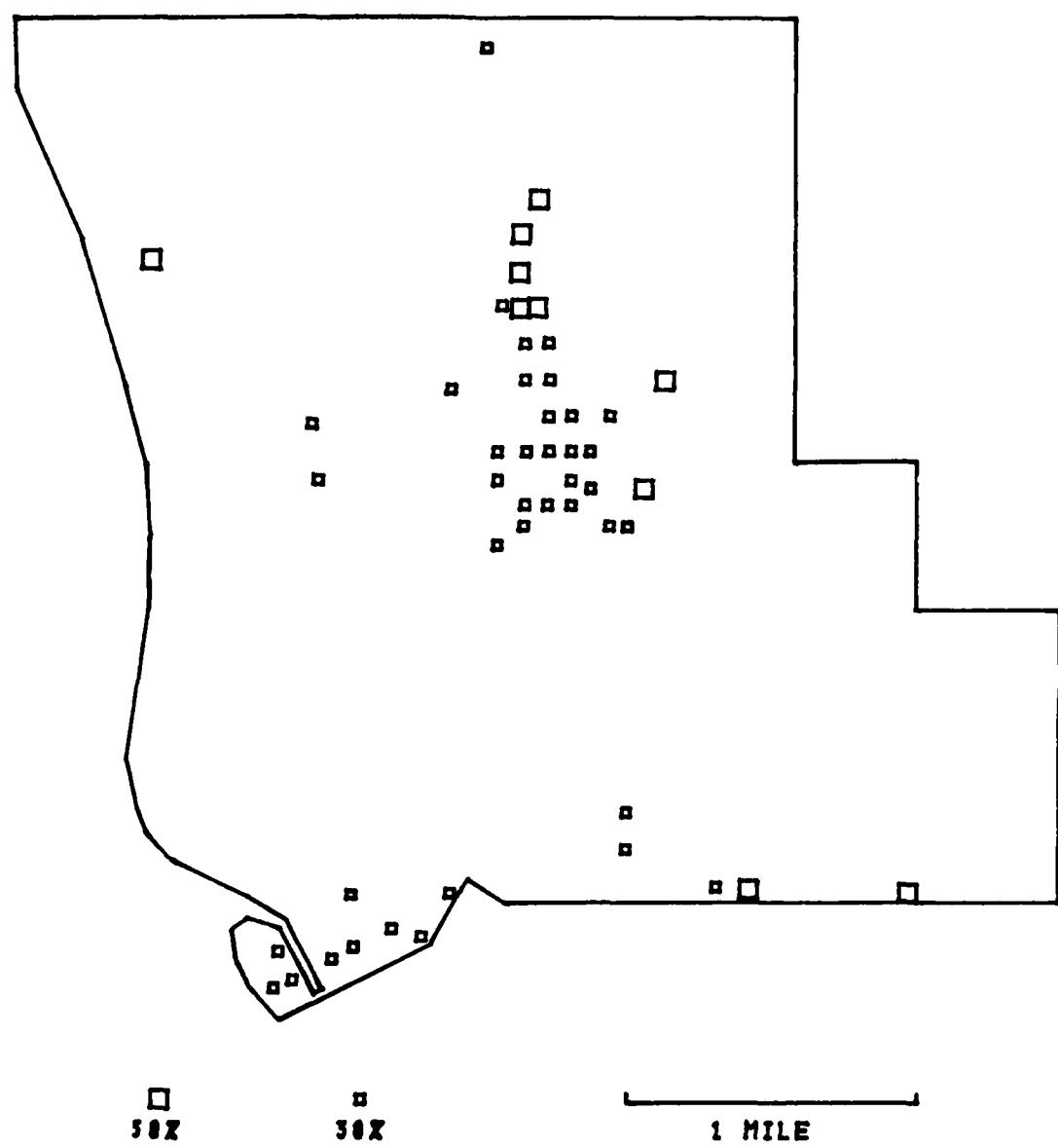
58



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: YANKEES

FIGURE 3-15

59

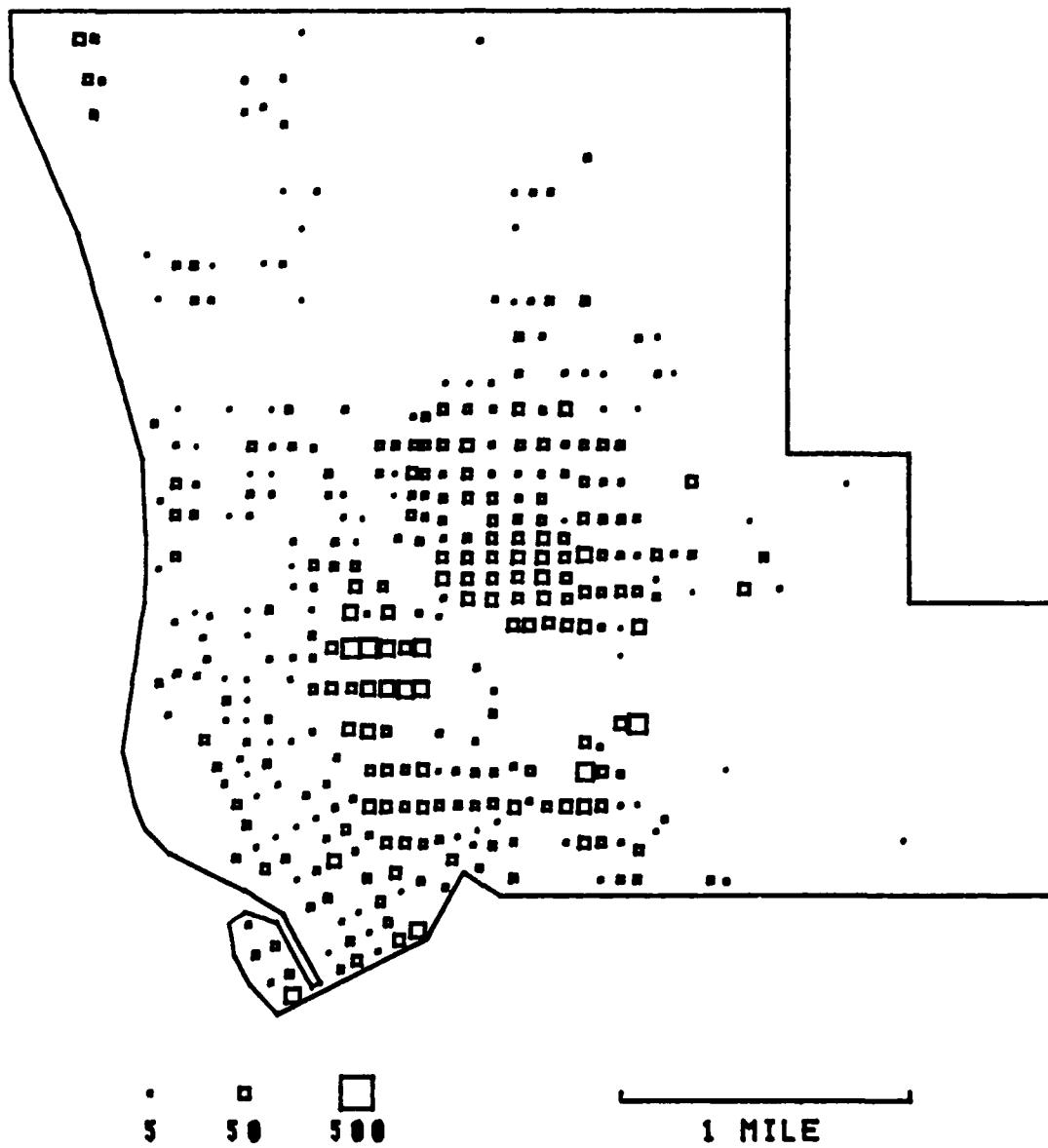


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: YANKEES

FIGURE 3-16

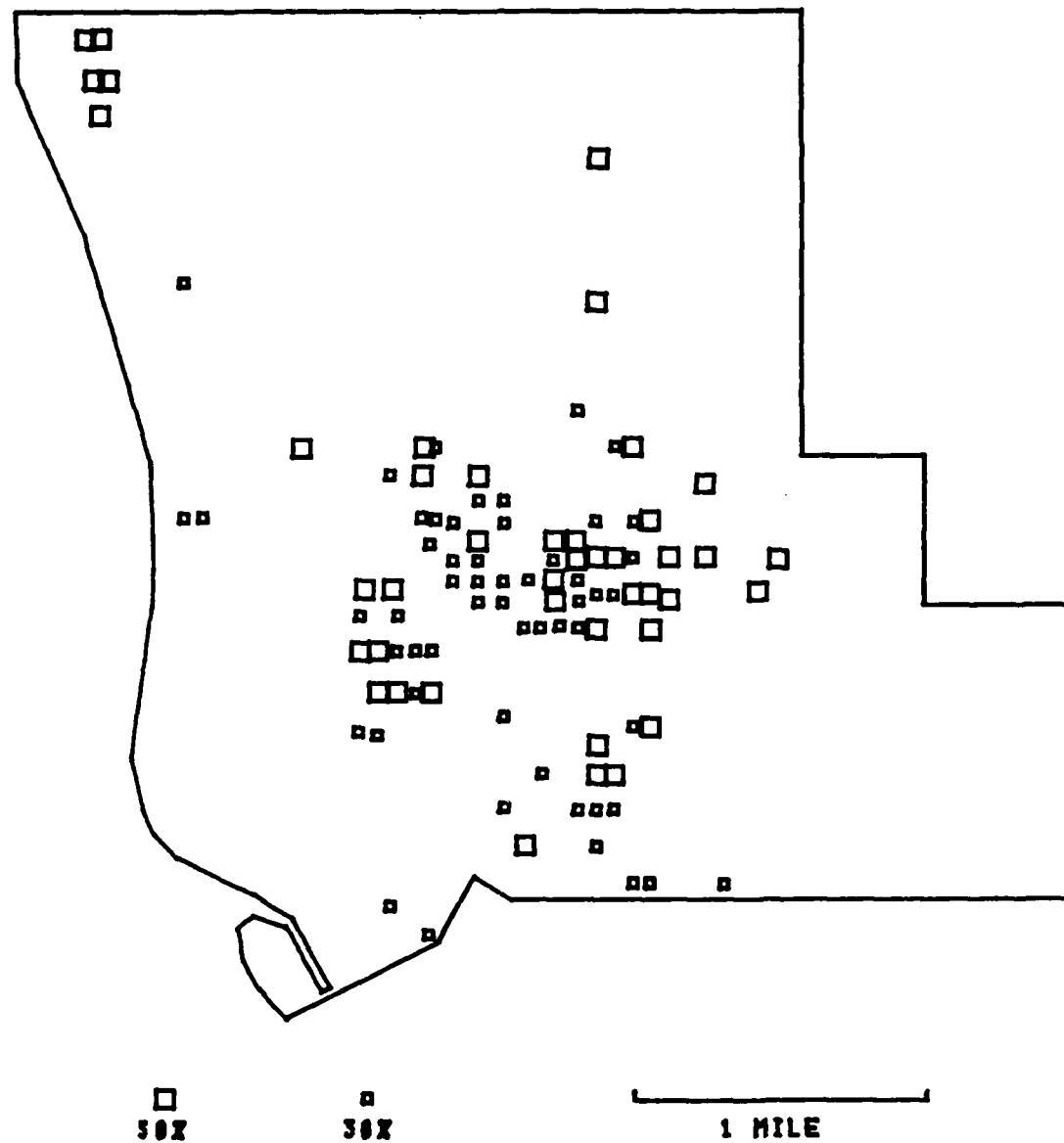
60



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: SWEDES

FIGURE 3-17

61

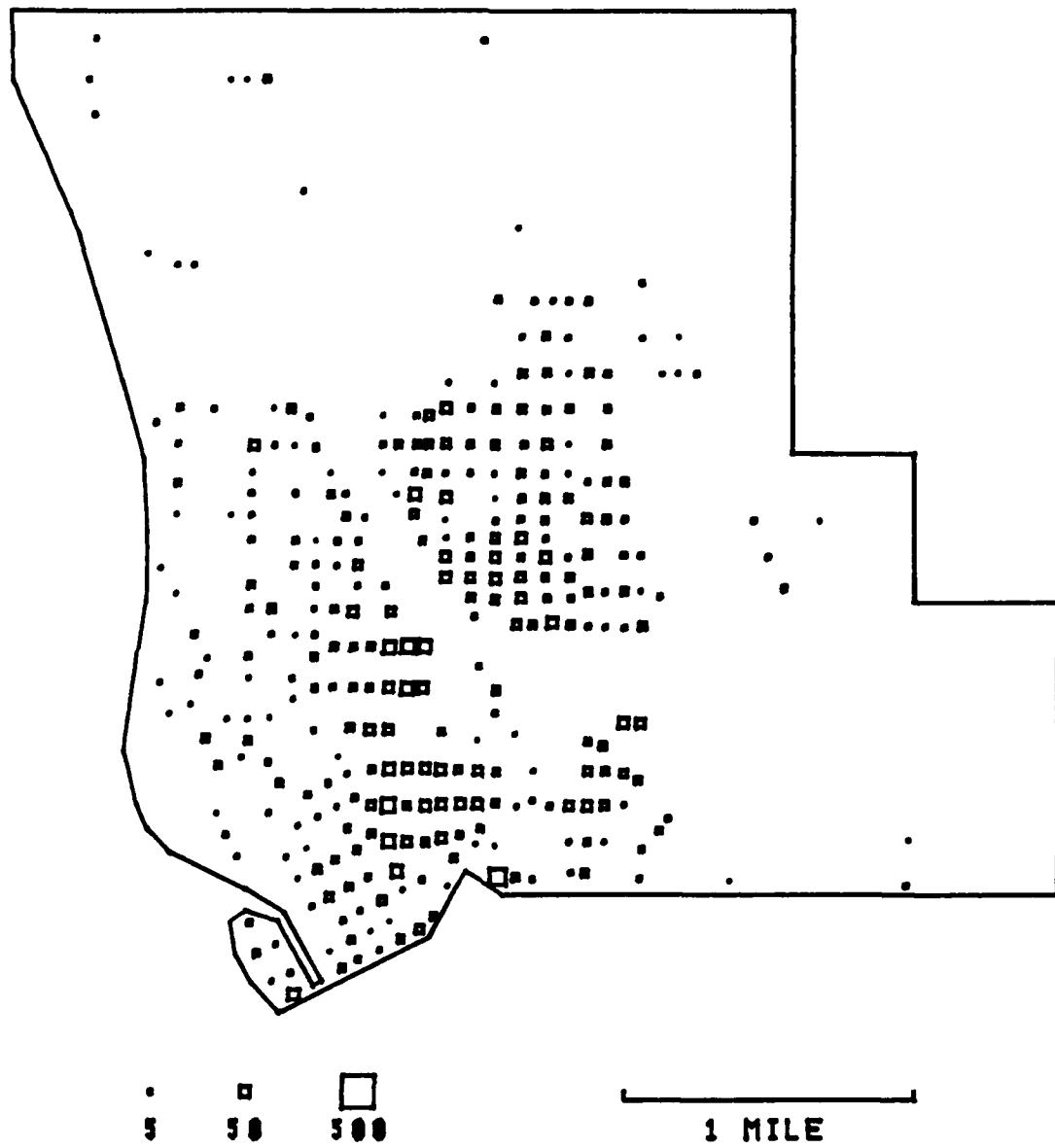


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: SWEDES

FIGURE 3-18

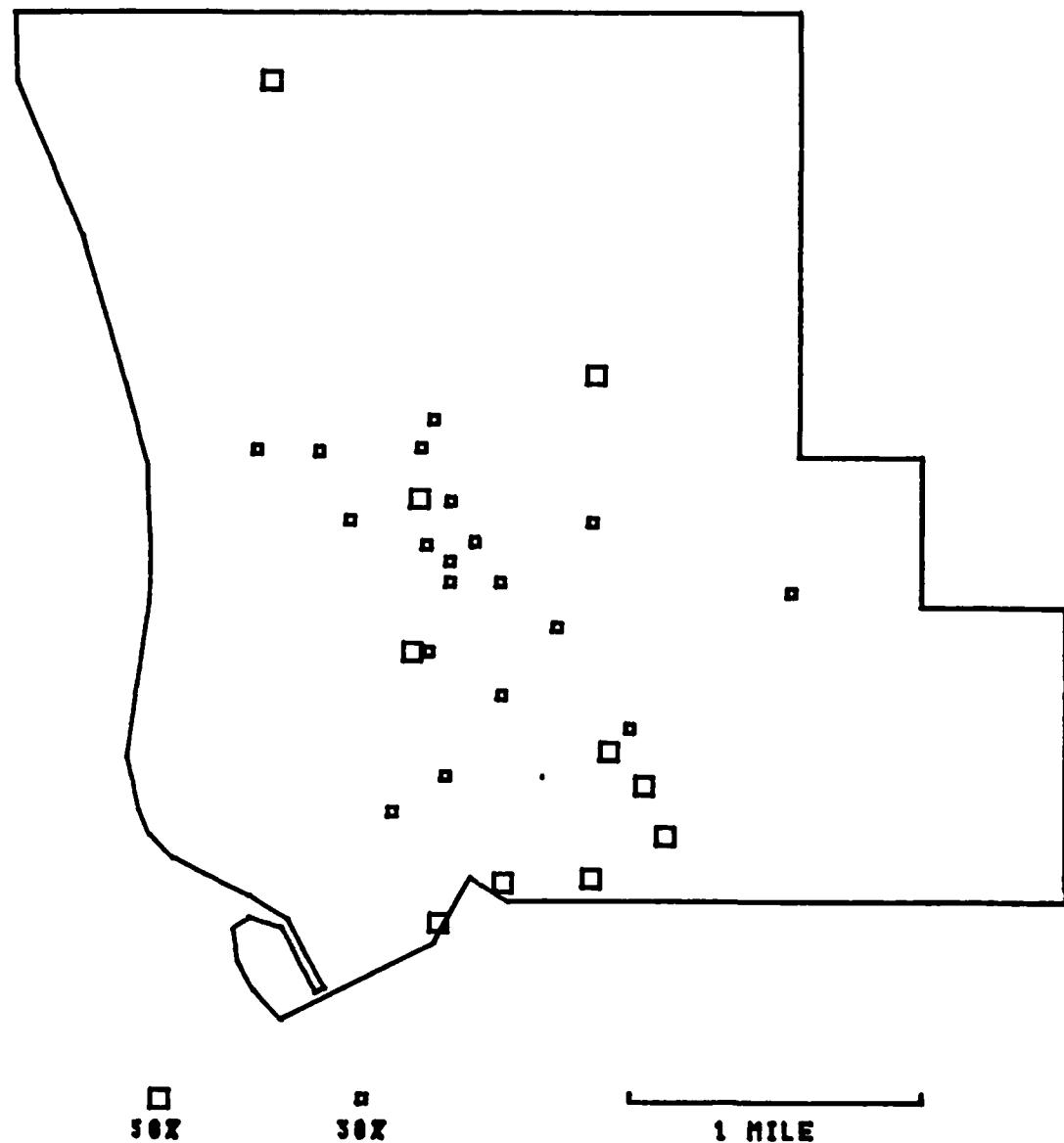
62



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905 : NORWEGIANS

FIGURE 3-19

63



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: NORWEGIANS

maps leads to the conclusion that the Scandinavians occupied the middle ground between strongly Slavic and Yankee regions, a situation which also reflected their social status.³

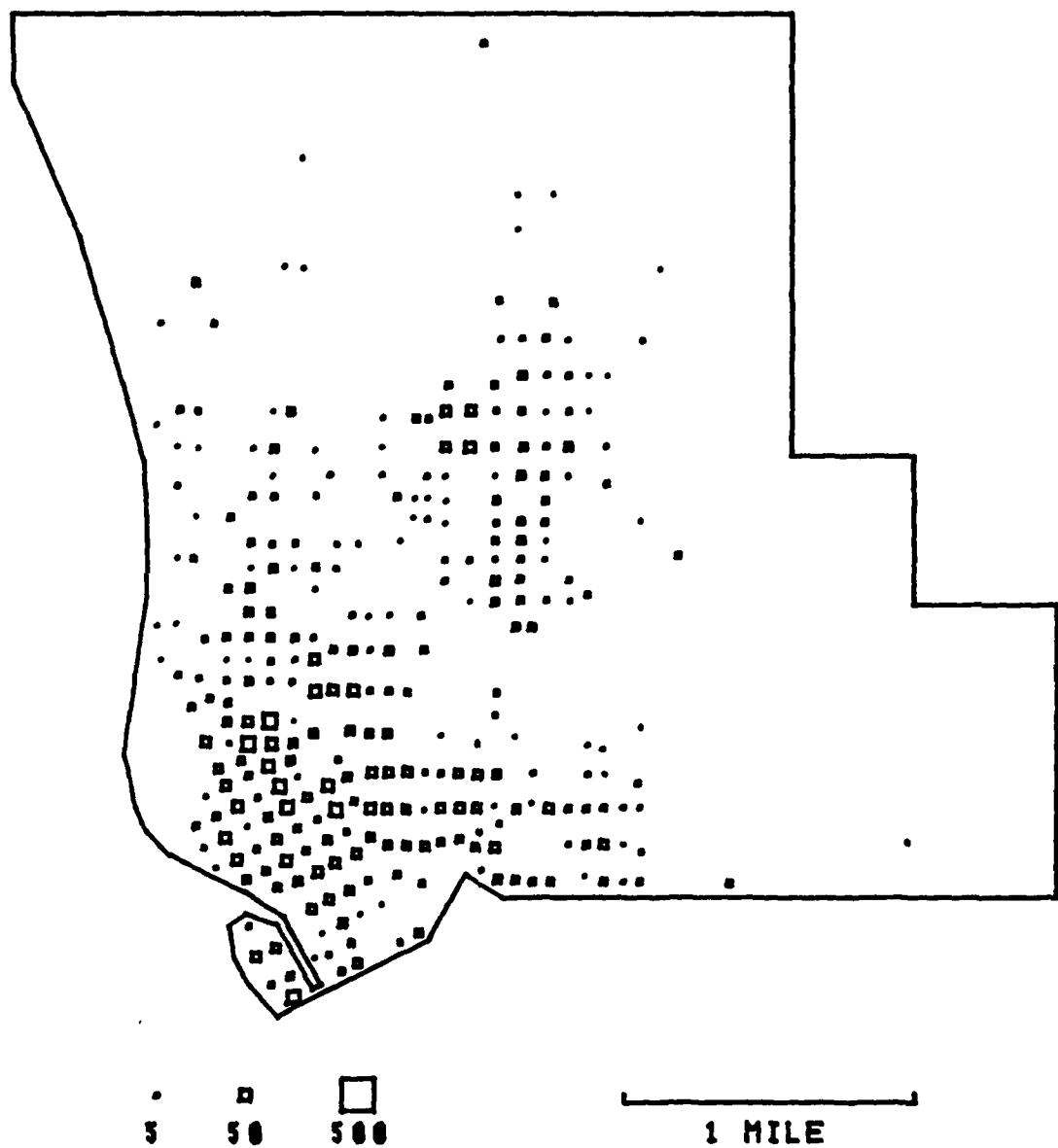
The Irish were not as numerous as the Yankees, but they were a widely scattered lot (Figures 3-20 and 3-21). The distributions of these two groups was reversed with regards to the Upper and Lower Northeast, the Irish being relatively stronger in the southern end of Lower Northeast below Broadway, the Yankees being stronger in Upper Northeast (Figures 3-15 and 3-21). The Irish did not account for fifty or more percent of any block in Northeast and the blocks on which they comprised between thirty and fifty percent were almost all located in Lower Northeast near St. Anthony's Parish.

The Canadians were not a cohesive group sharing common cultural characteristics. They were comprised of at least three groups: those of English, French, and Irish ancestry. Many Irish, the census's place of birth information revealed, had stopped in Canada before moving to the United States. The only justification for lumping these groups in a common Canadian category on the same map is the fiat of the census. The cluster of Canadians in Lower Northeast (Figures 3-22 and 3-23) was composed

³ Marion D. Shutter, ed., History of Minneapolis, (Minneapolis: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1923), p. 668.

FIGURE 3-20

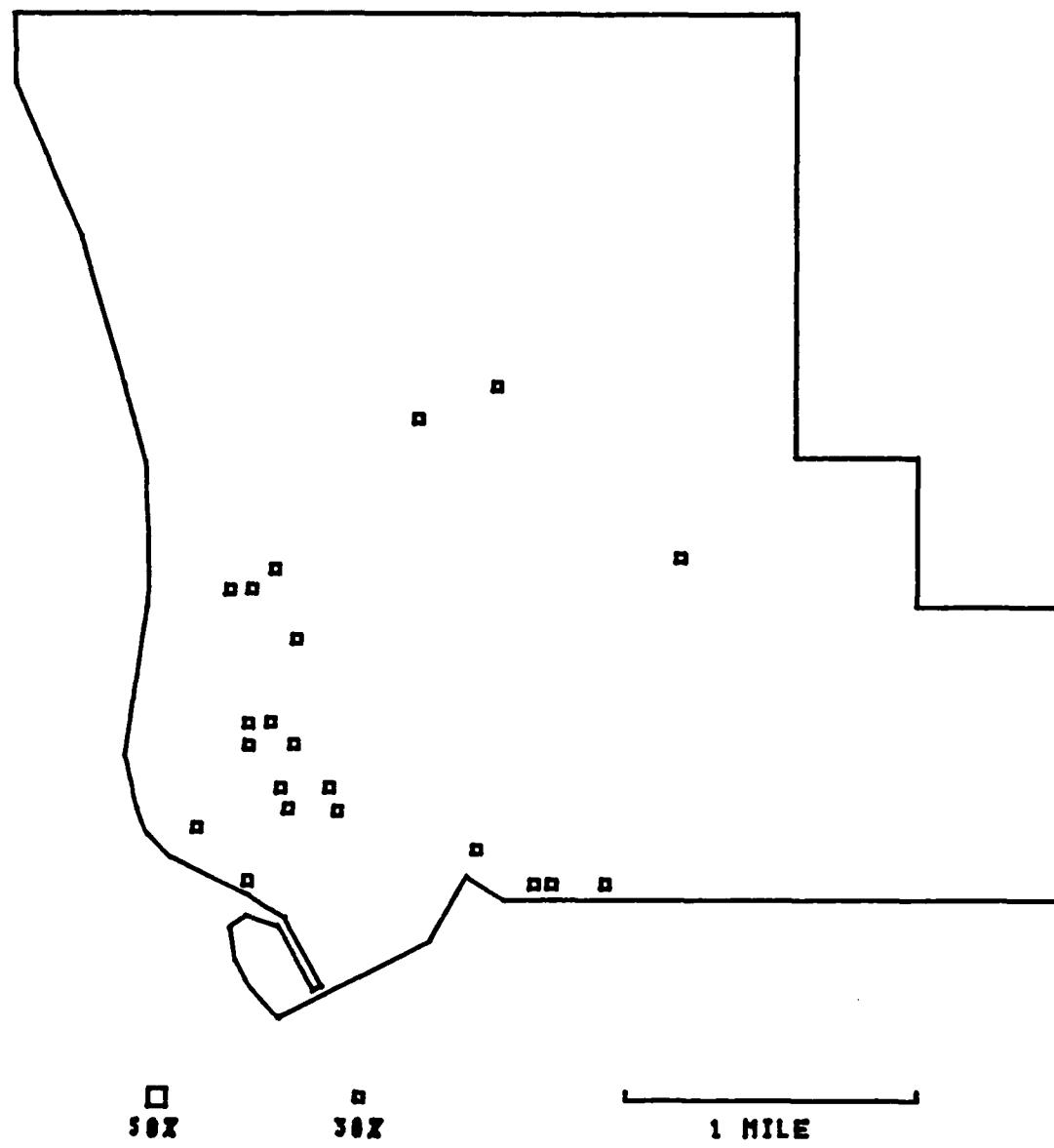
65



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: IRISH

FIGURE 3-21

66

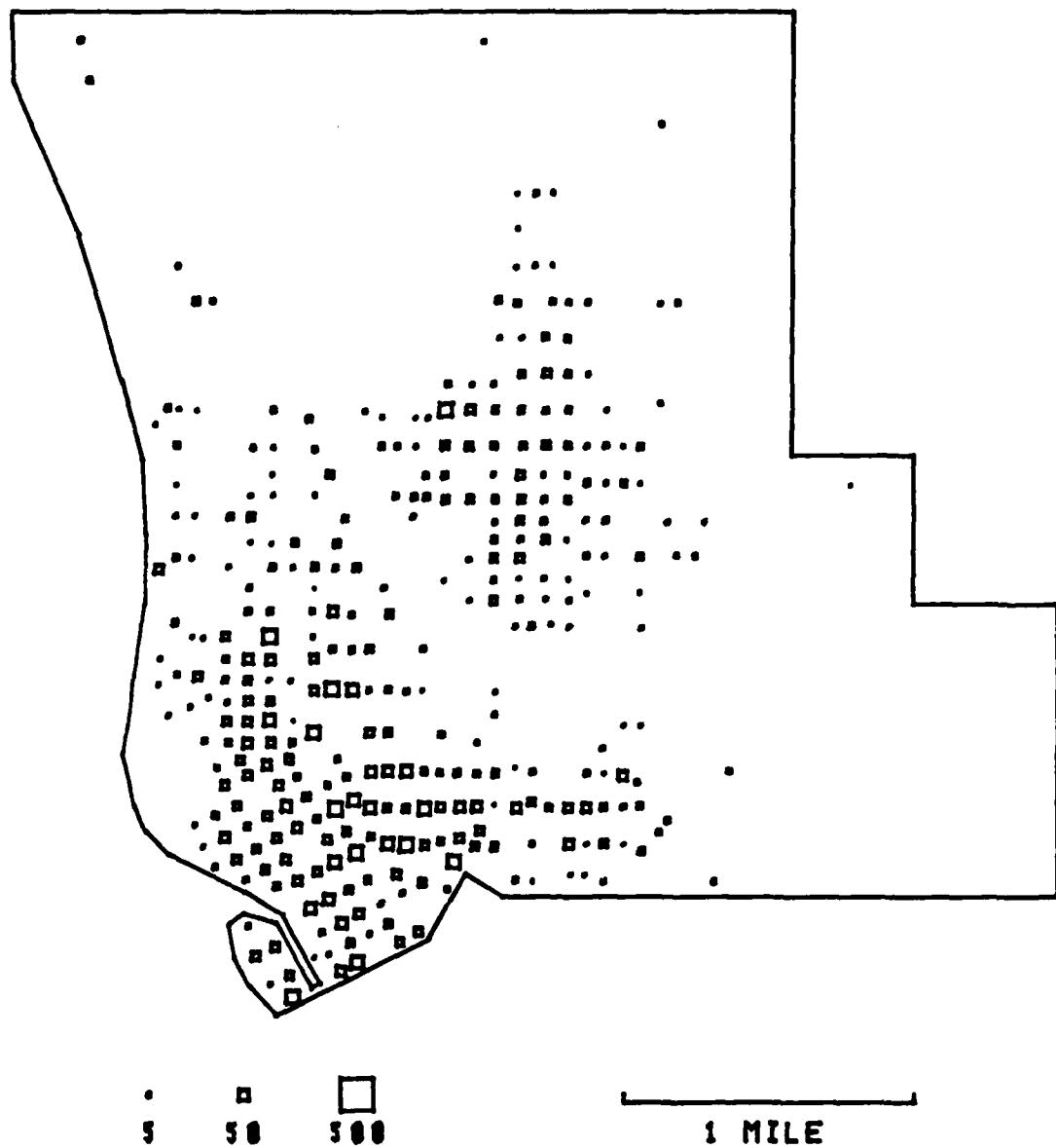


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: IRISH

FIGURE 3-22

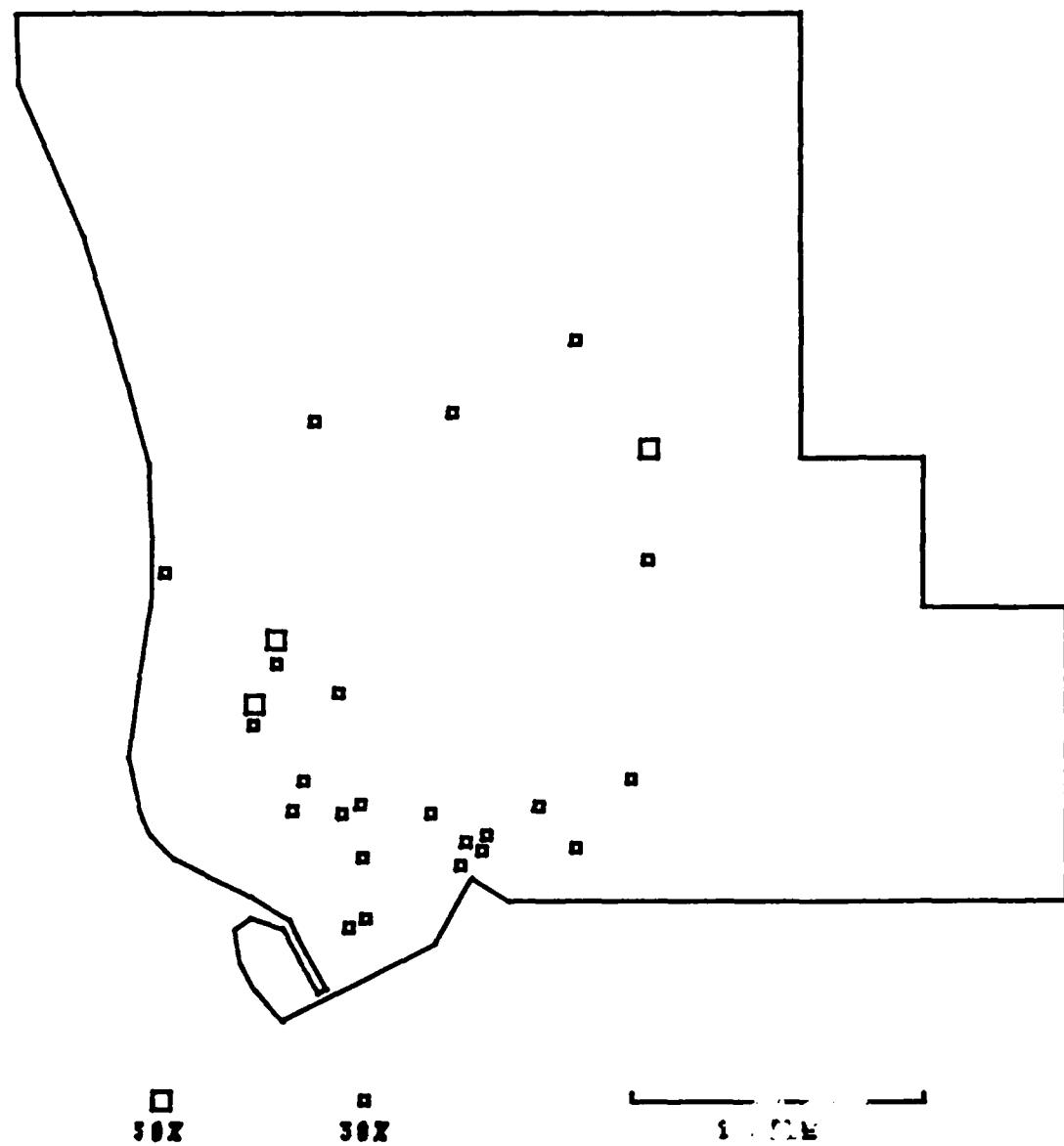
67



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: CANADIANS

FIGURE 3-23

68



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: CANADIANS

primarily of French and Irish Canadians, the cluster in Upper Northeast were mainly of British ancestry.

The British distribution is a replay of the Yankee one at a smaller scale (Figure 3-24 and 3-25). The British had a fairly wide distribution. On only two blocks did they comprise as high as thirty percent of the population. If any clustering is notable, it is that in Upper Northeast. It is no great surprise that the British distribution should echo the Yankee's.

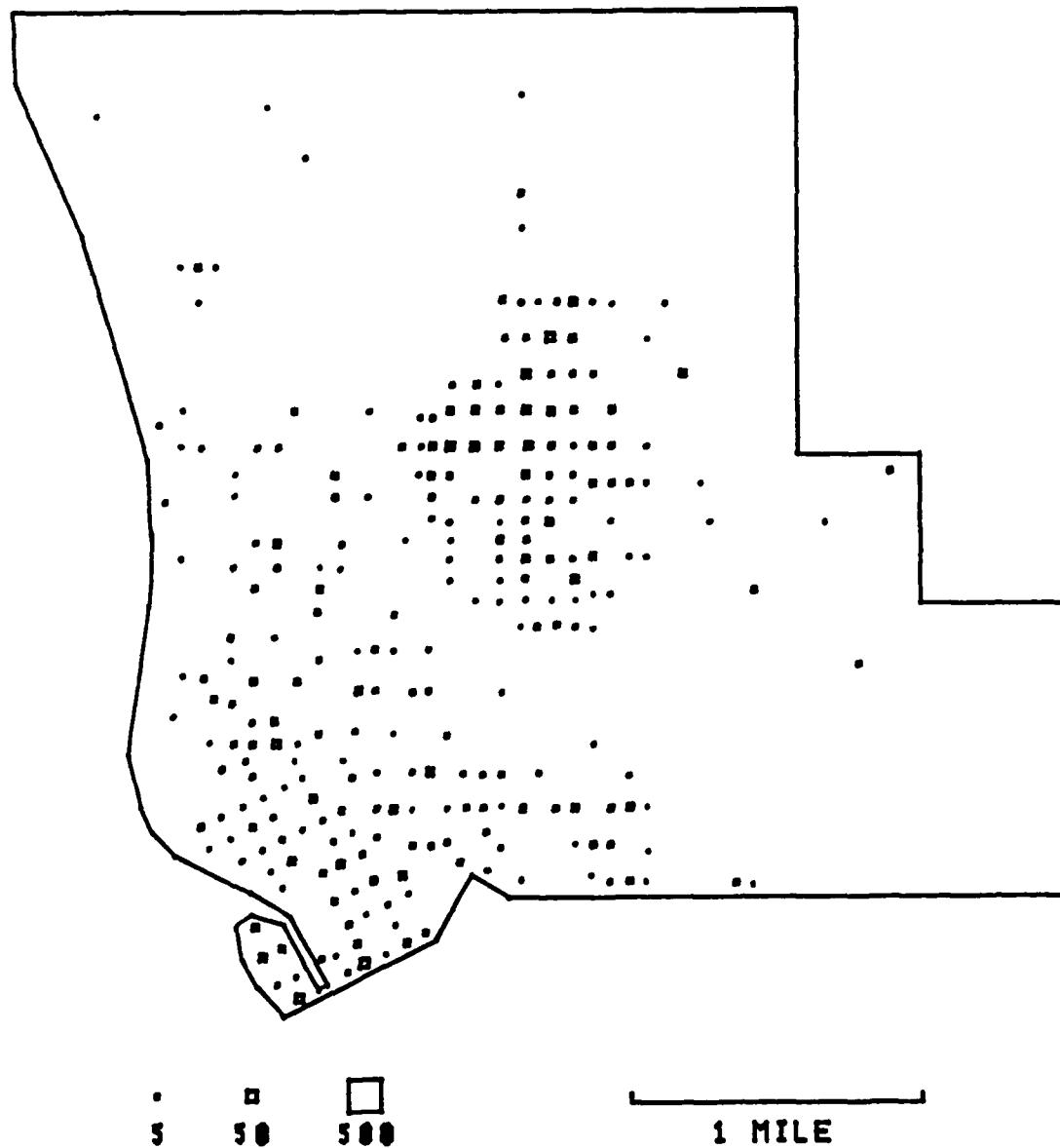
Care must be exercised in interpreting the maps for countries from which Poles originated because they do not reflect ethnic affiliation. People of "Austrian" origin were mainly Slavs: Poles, Slovaks, Ruthenians and Ukrainians. Austrians with German names accounted for less than ten families in Northeast. The locus of Austrian habitation is easily described. It was linear, running north-south between the River on the west and Fifth Street on the east (Figures 3-26 and 3-27). Austrian representation in Upper Northeast was minimal.

The Germans in Northeast were overwhelmingly ethnic Germans with a handful of Poles from Prussian Poland. Their greatest concentration was in Lower Northeast along the River, but unlike the Austrians, they had spread throughout all of Northeast (Figures 3-28 and 3-29).

Only a few hundred people from Russia were counted in 1905 in this section of the city (Figures 3-30 and 3-31).

FIGURE 3-24

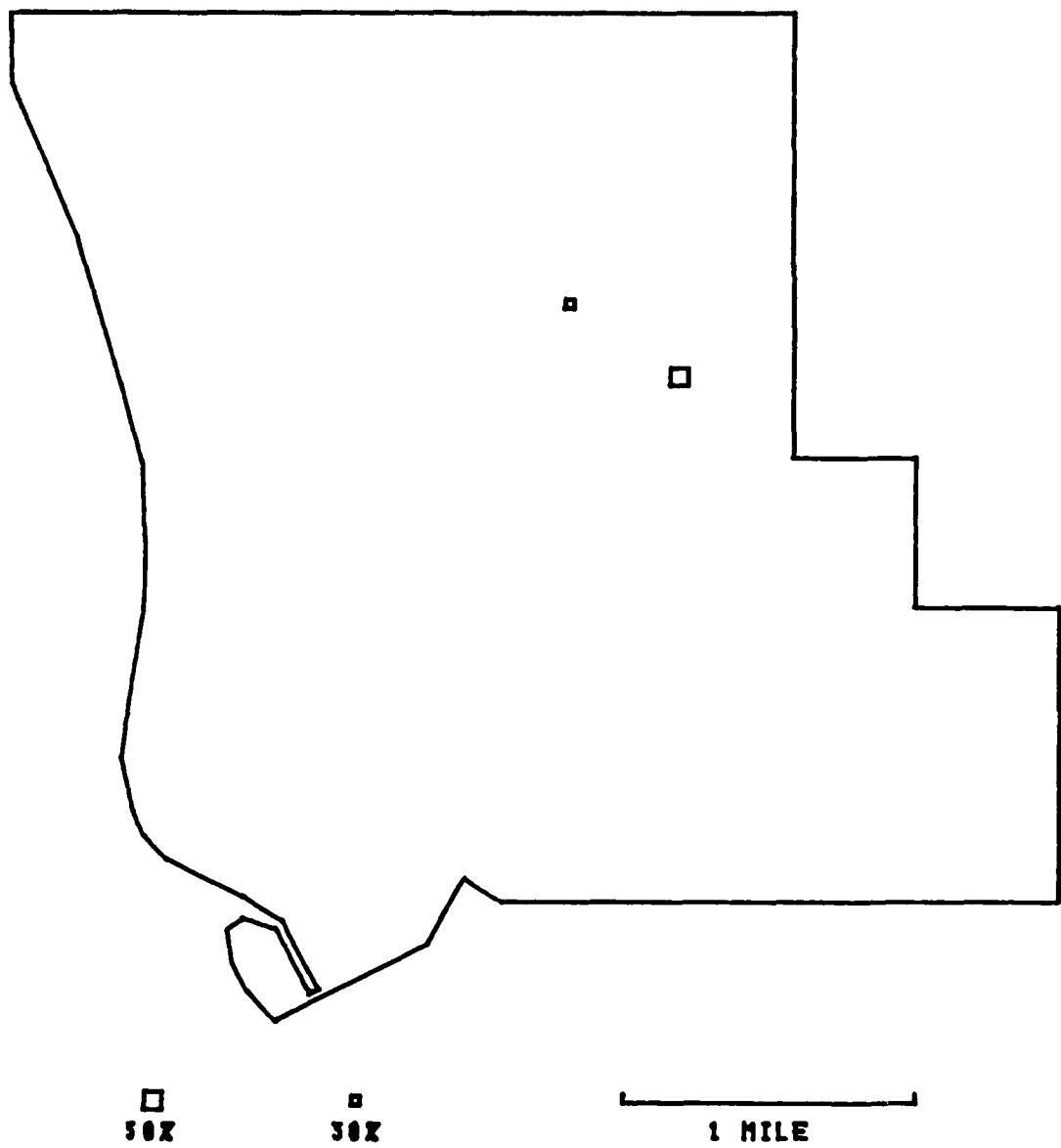
70



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: BRITISH

FIGURE 3-25

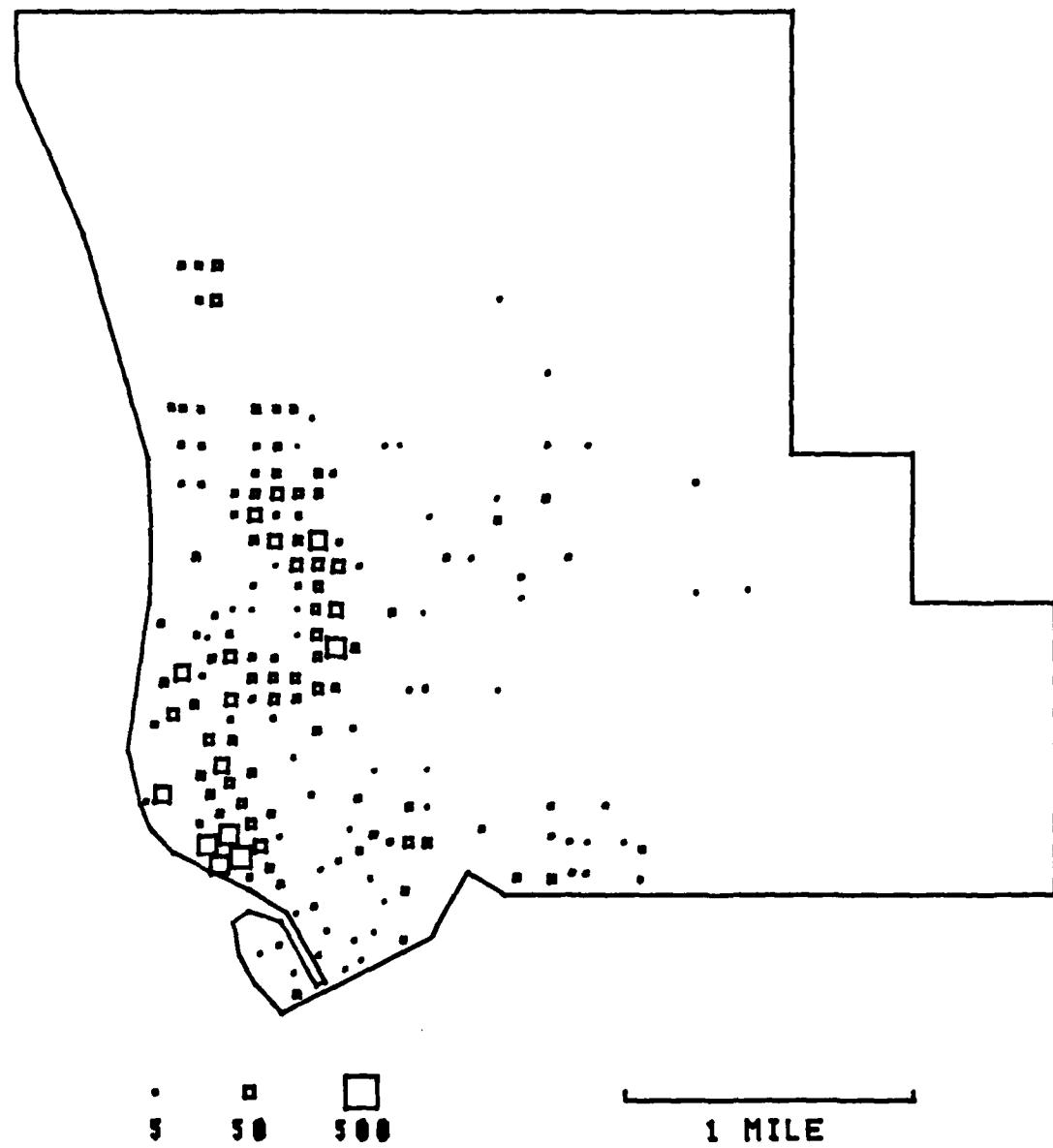
71



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: BRITISH

FIGURE 3-26

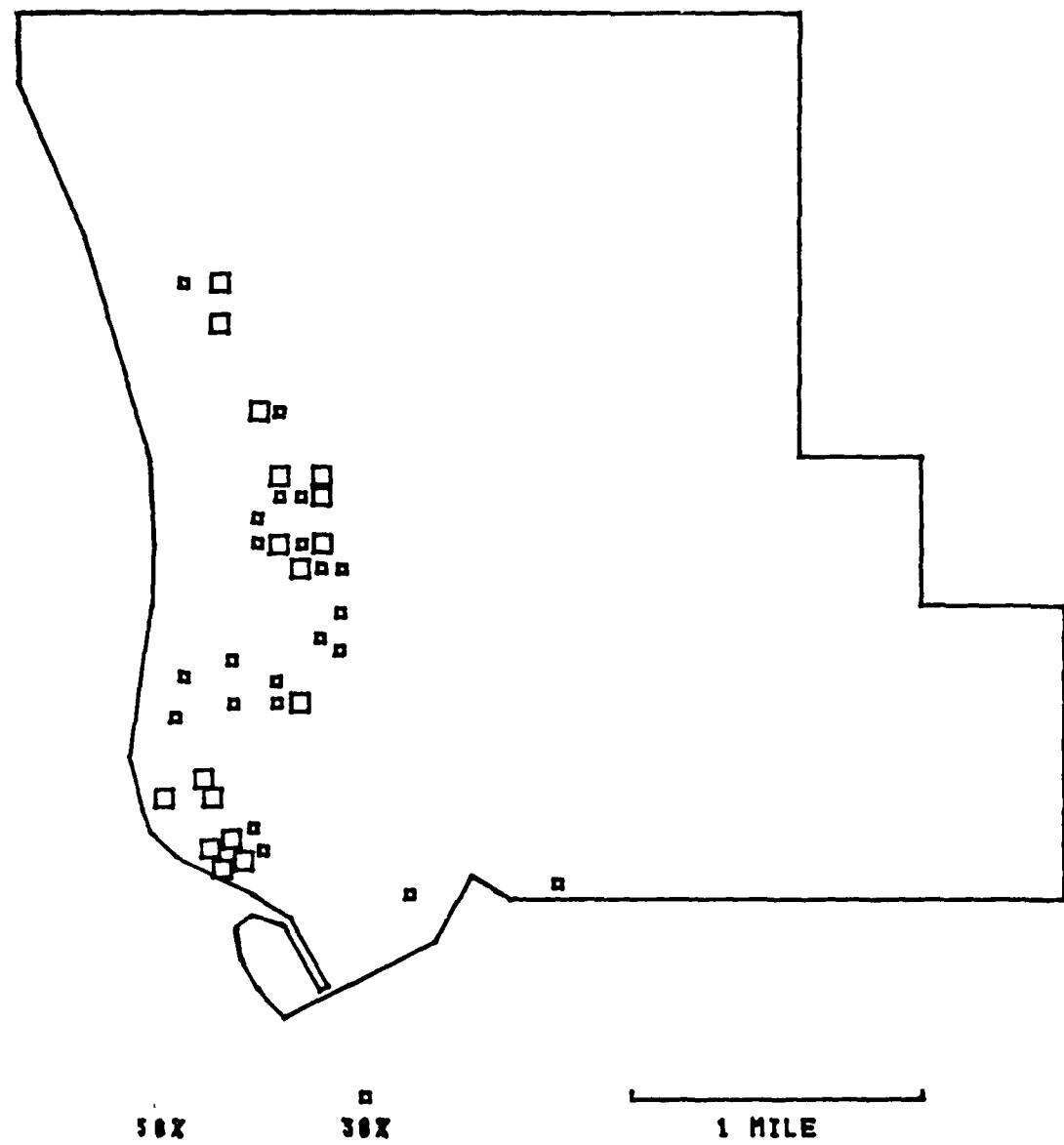
72



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: AUSTRIANS

FIGURE 3-27

73

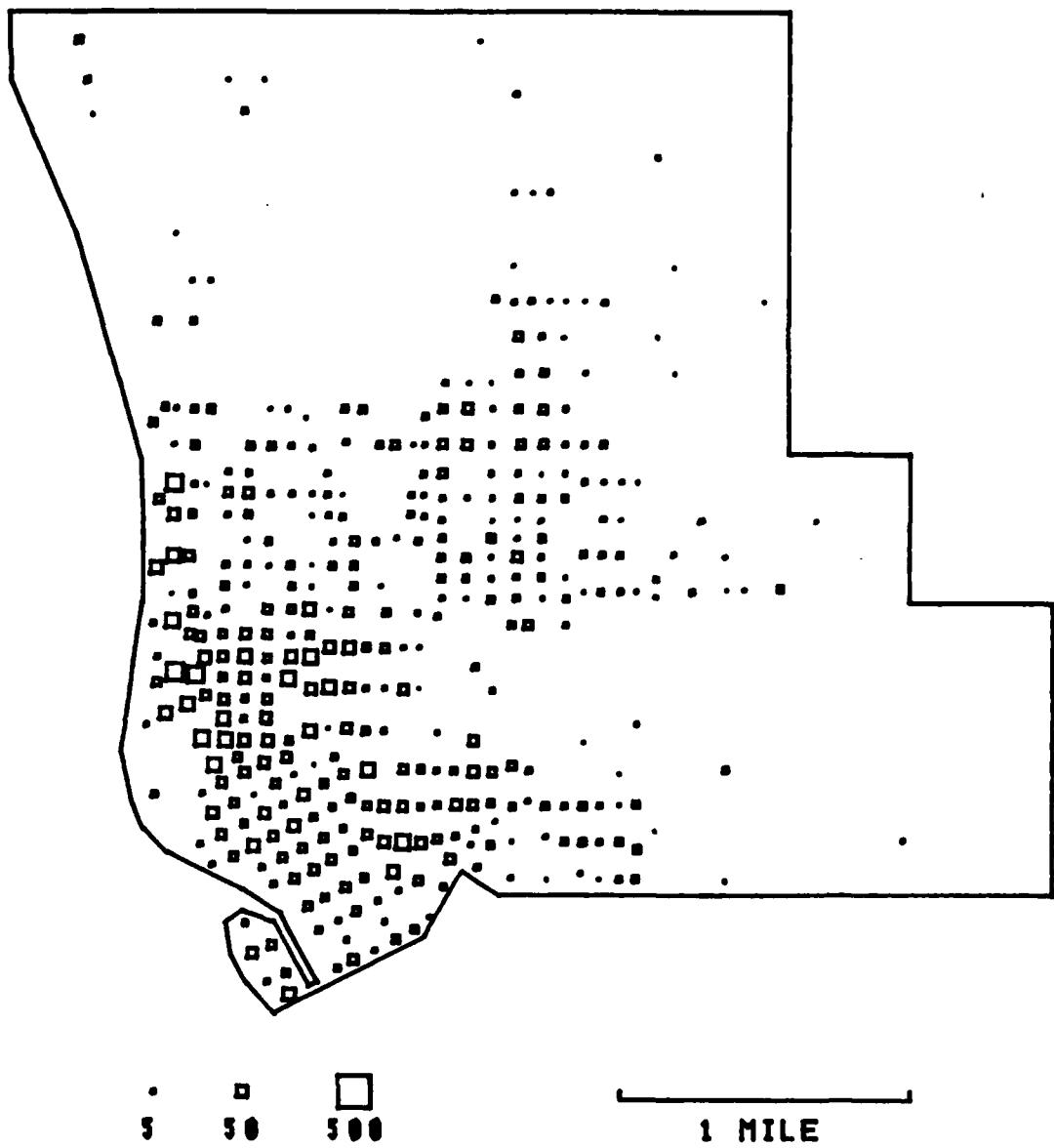


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: AUSTRIANS

FIGURE 3-28

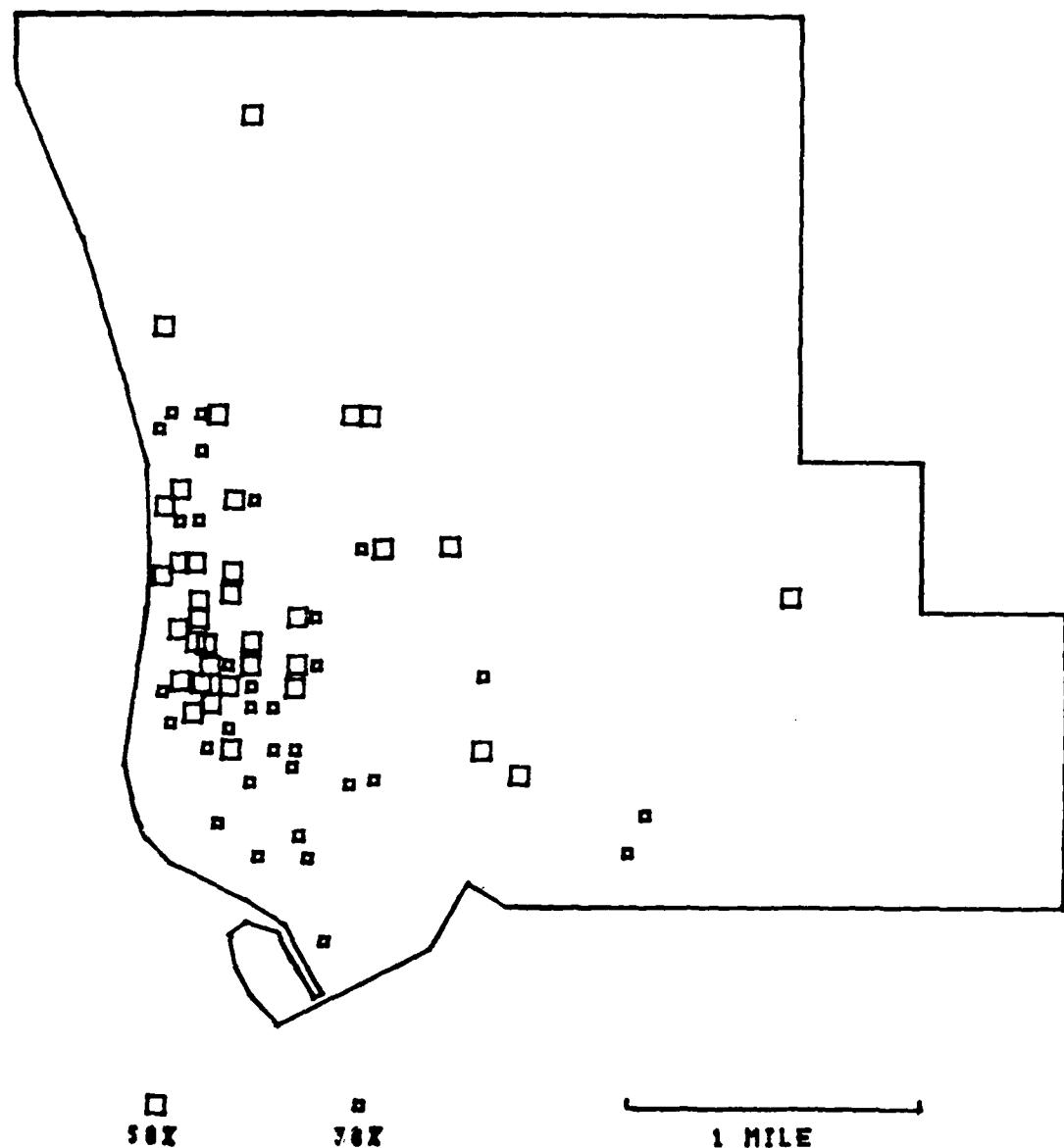
74



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: GERMANS

FIGURE 3-29

75

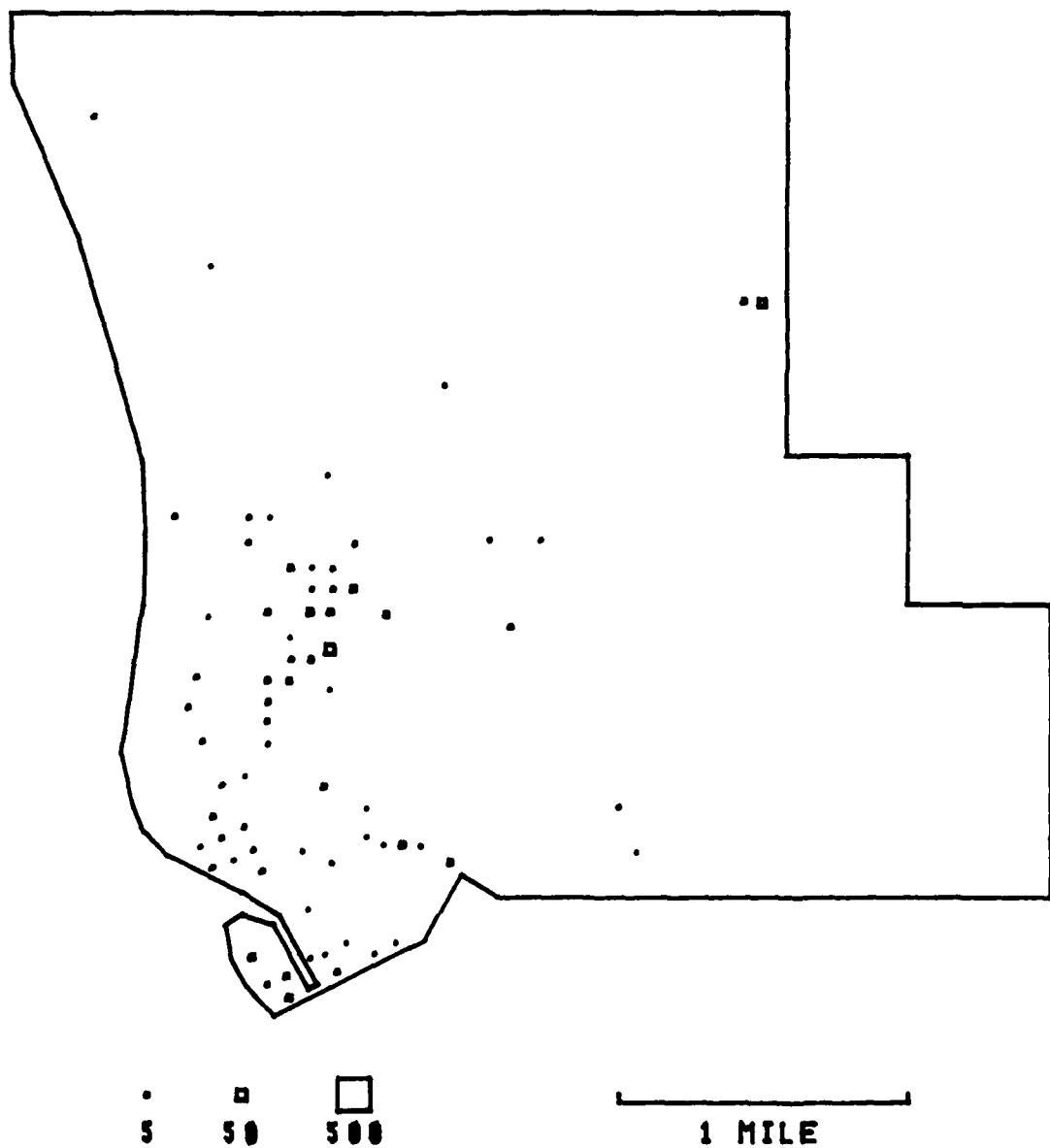


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: GERMANS

FIGURE 3-30

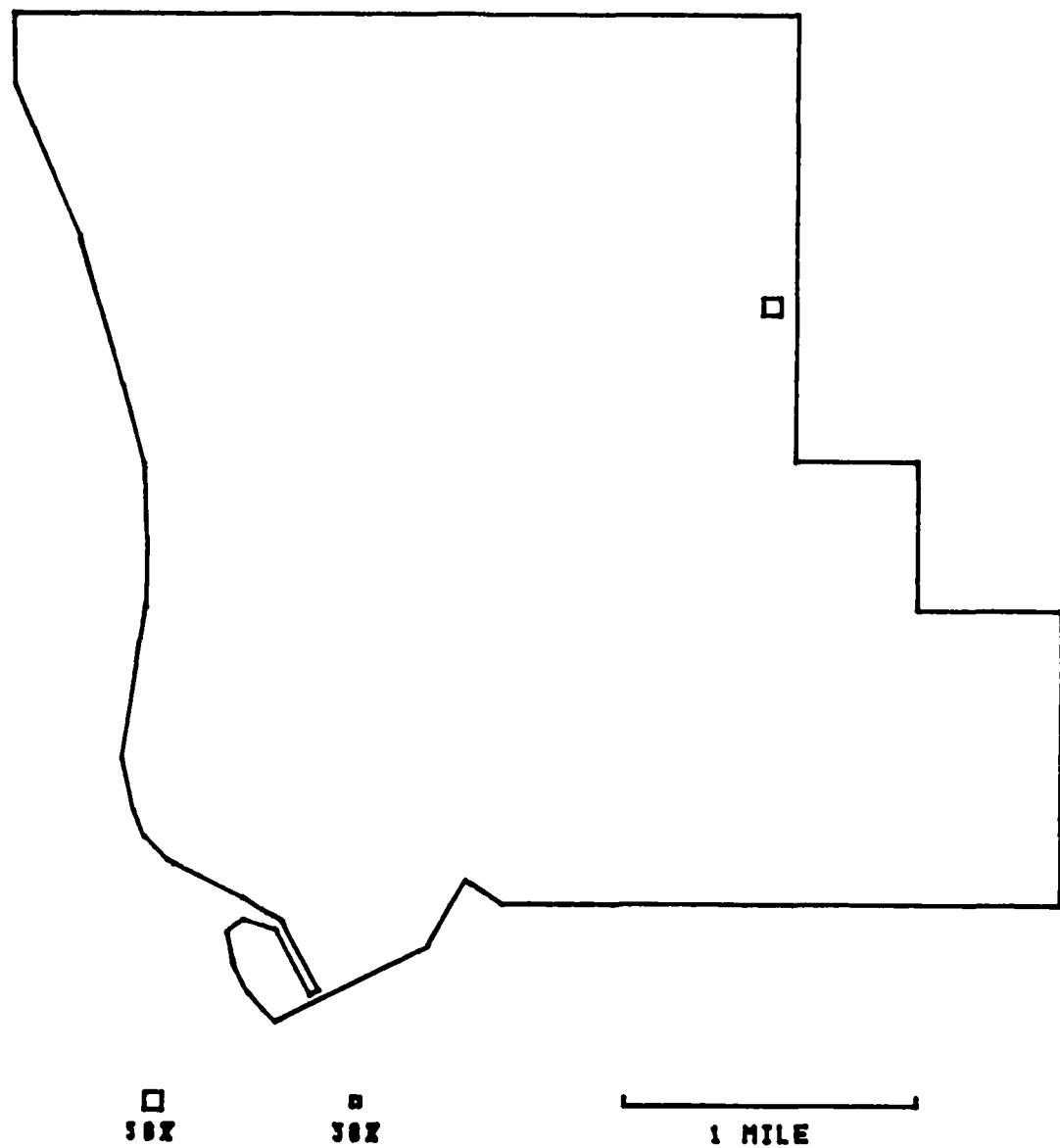
76



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: RUSSIANS

FIGURE 3-31

77



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: RUSSIANS

By far most of this group lived in Lower Northeast, echoing the Austrian distribution there. Most of these people were later identified as Poles, just as most of the Austrians were. So diluted were the Russians, that only one block had over thirty percent of the block population.

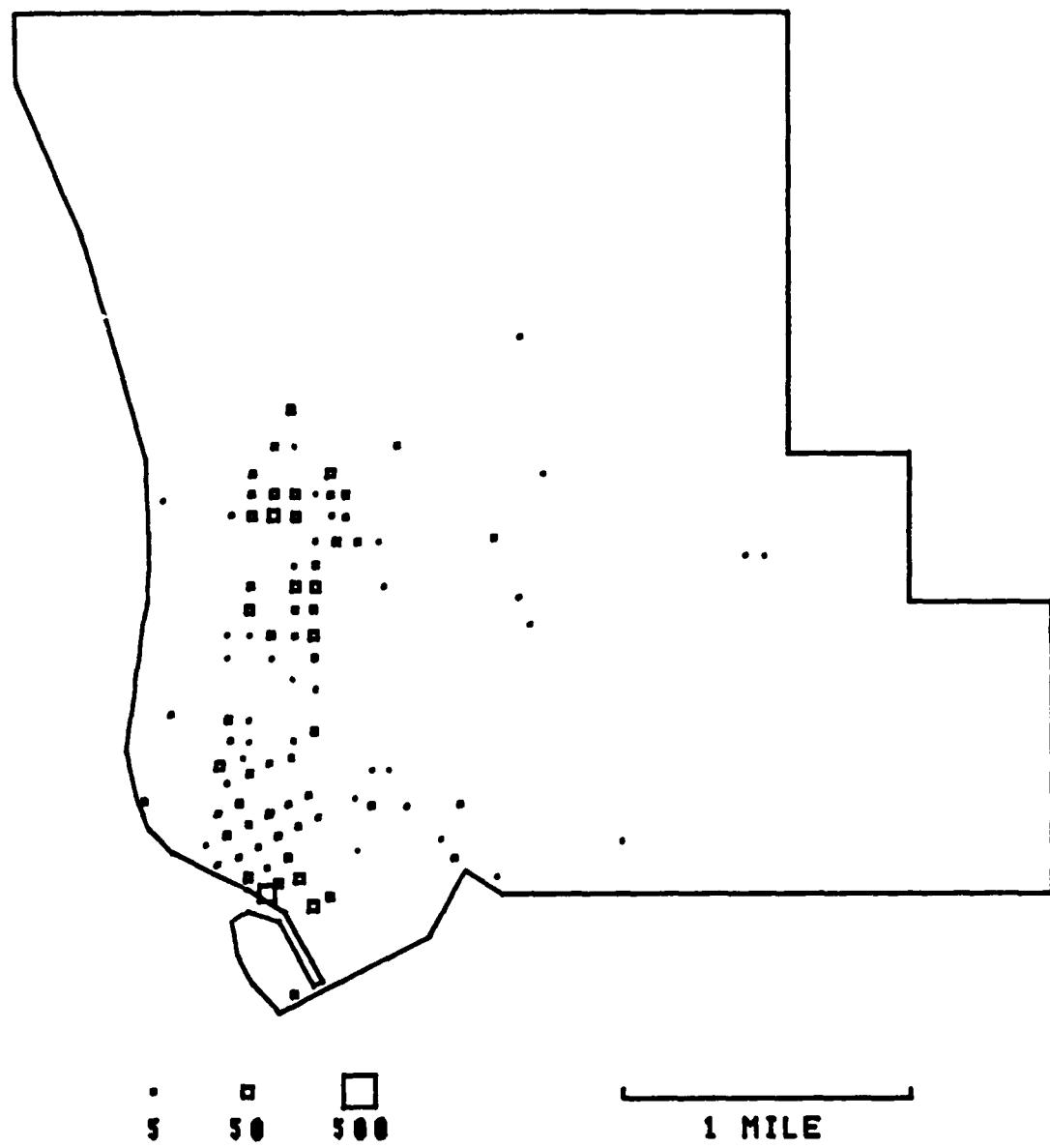
Surprisingly it was on the extreme eastern edge of the city rather isolated from the built up area. The block was the home of a group of well-to-do Jewish merchants.

The first two maps of Poles (Figures 3-32 and 3-33) depict only those who were identified in the census as being from Poland, so we can equate this group with the unspecified group alluded to earlier. The second set (Figures 3-34 and 33) depicts those people, male and female, who appeared in the census and were later classified as ethnic Poles using church or fraternal organization records, making these maps more inclusive than Figures 3-32 and 3-33, but in all likelihood, still underestimating Polish strength. Recall that many people having Slavic names could not be classified. Despite these limitations, the Polish distribution can be fairly well determined. Of the 506 blocks, 148 had one or more had Poles on it in 1905. Twenty-four of the 148 had more than ten Poles who comprised over thirty percent of the block's population. Both the dot (Figure 3-12) and the graduated symbol map (Figure 3-34) tell the same story.

A handful of Slavs in Northeast were not listed as

FIGURE 3-32

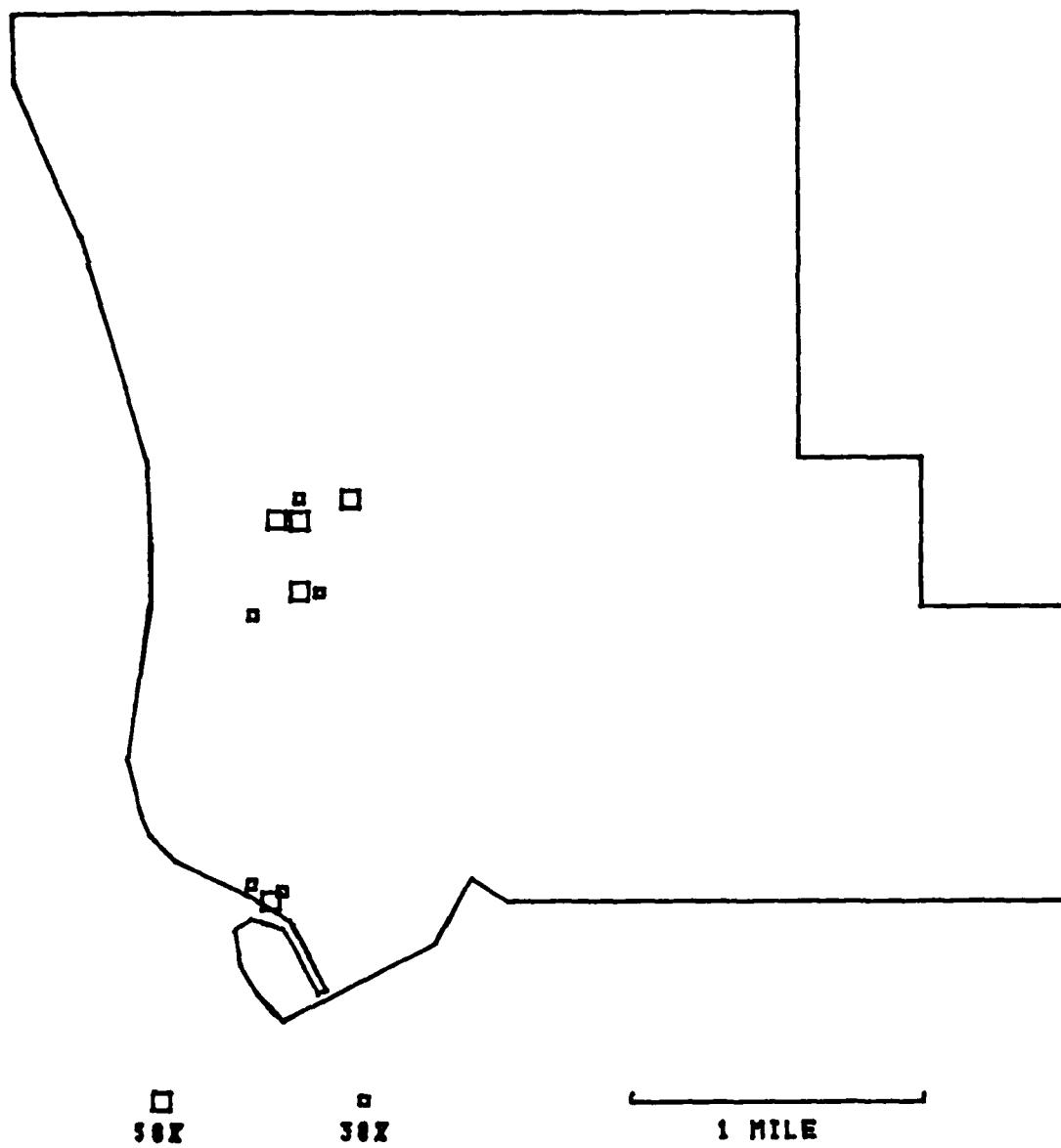
79



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: POLES
CENSUS

FIGURE 3-33

80

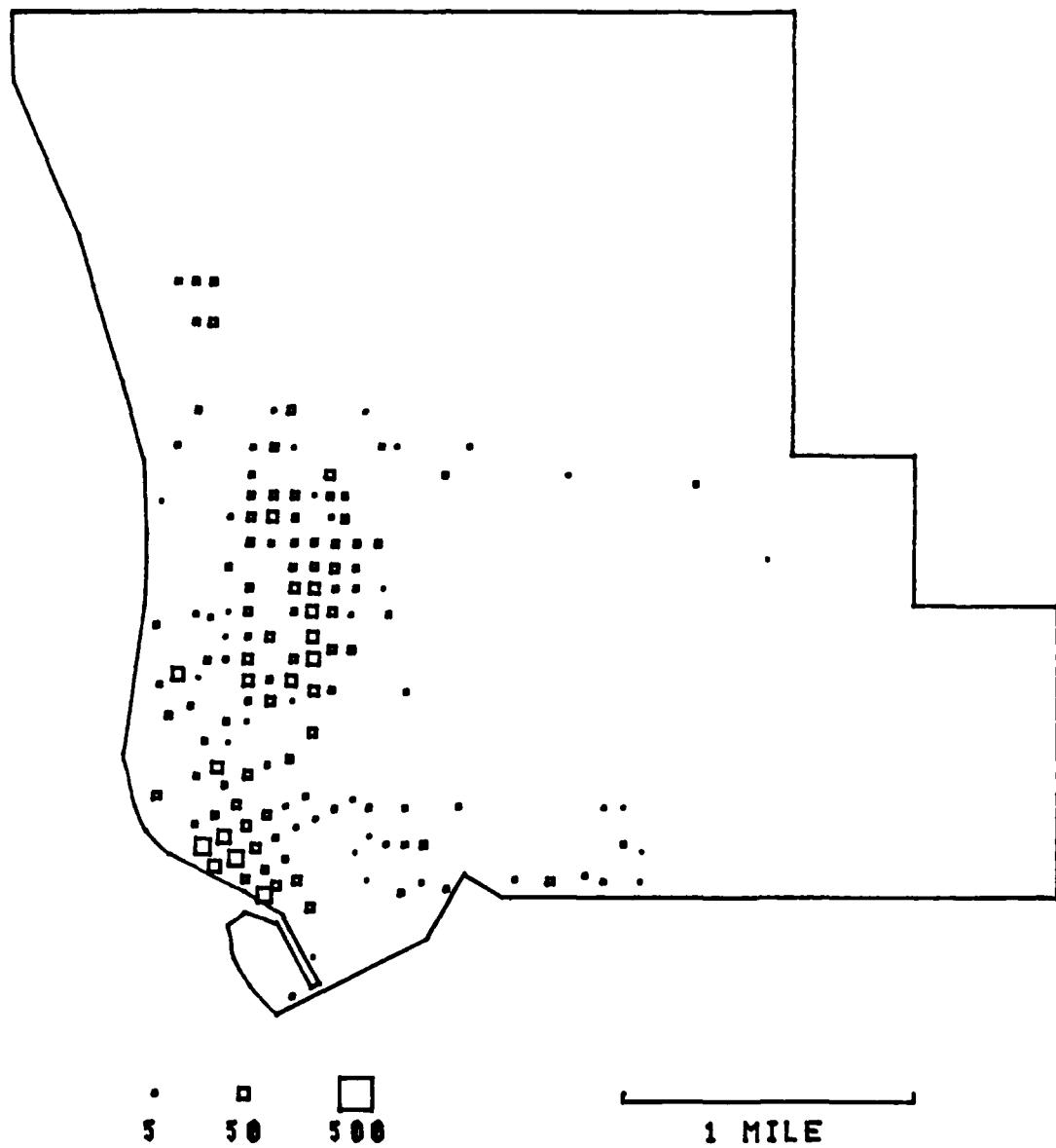


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: POLES
CENSUS

FIGURE 3-34

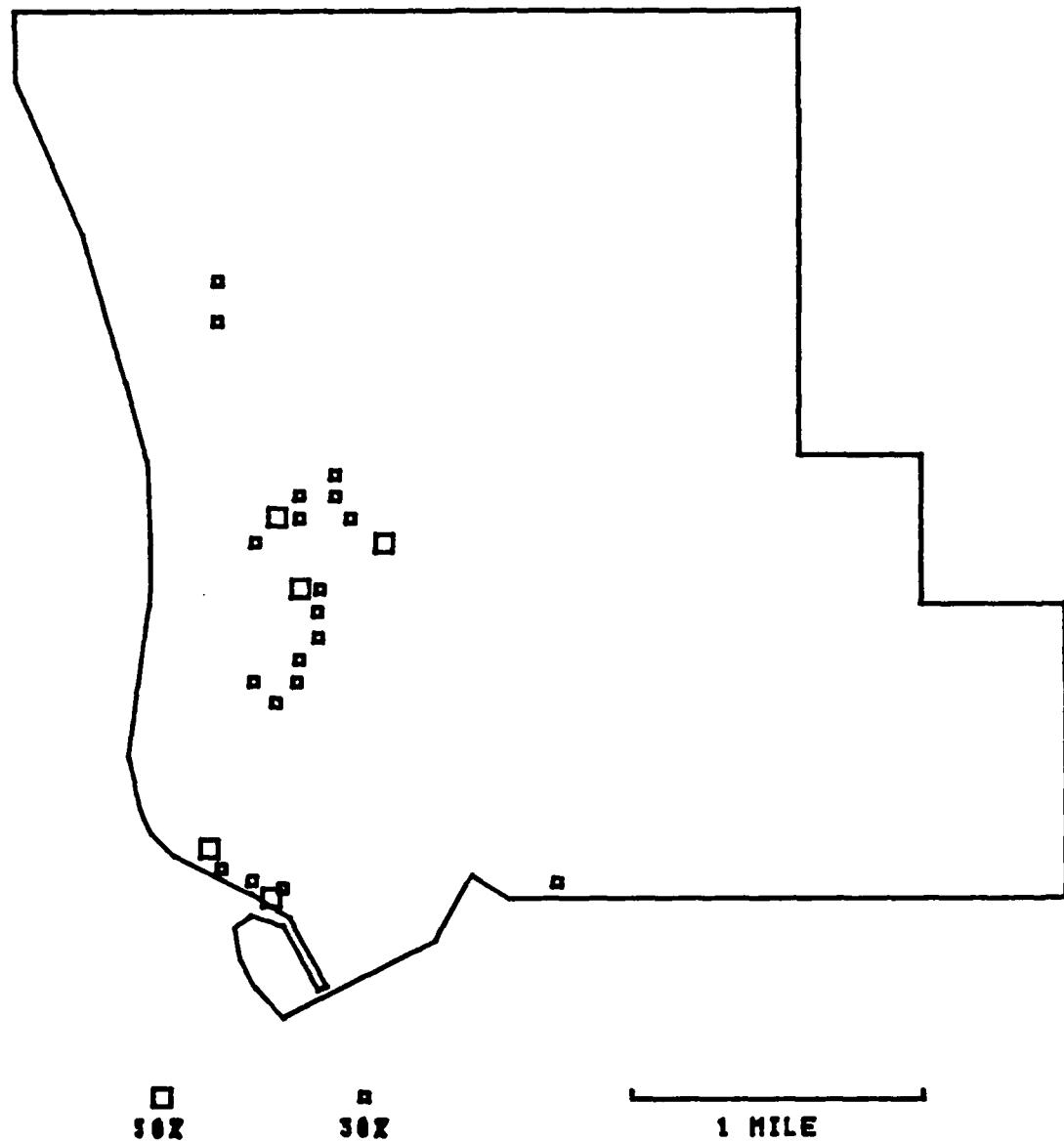
81



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: POLES
CLASSIFIED

FIGURE 3-35

82



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

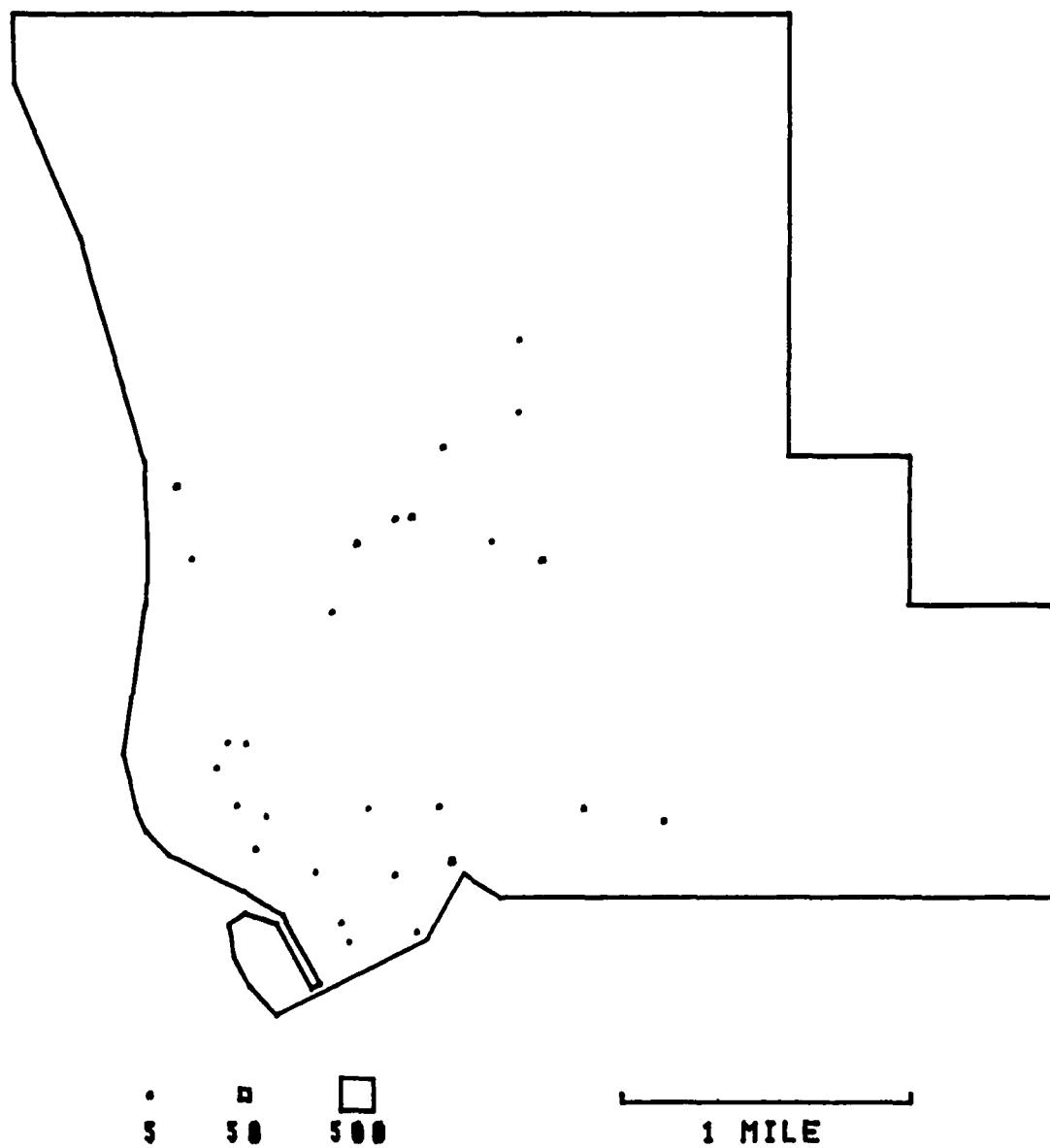
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: POLES
CLASSIFIED

being from Germany, Russia, or Austria (Figures 3-36 and 3-37). Nearly all of this small group of "other Slavs" were Bohemians who chose to designate their nation of birth as Bohemia, not as Austria. No strong Bohemian community existed in Northeast. Their strength lay in South and Southeast Minneapolis near the present University of Minnesota Campus. In addition to the Bohemians, a few Croats and Serbs completed the "other Slav" category. This category was of little significance in Northeast.

All people from nations not included in the previous maps are included in Figures 3-38 and 3-39. Often in classification schemes, the "other" category becomes the largest as enumeration and classification proceed. The "all others" category was definitely of little significance in absolute and percentage terms in 1905 Minneapolis (Figures 3-38 and 3-39). Romania, France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Iceland, the Netherlands, Italy, Hungary, Greece, Syria, China, New Zealand, and South Africa make up this residual category. This category was fairly widely spread throughout Northeast, although there were blocks here and there on which one group had a significant share of the population (Figure 3-39). Only seven blocks met the double criteria of having at least ten members and over thirty percent of the block's population. The people occupying the three northernmost blocks shown on the percentage map were Danes.

FIGURE 3-36

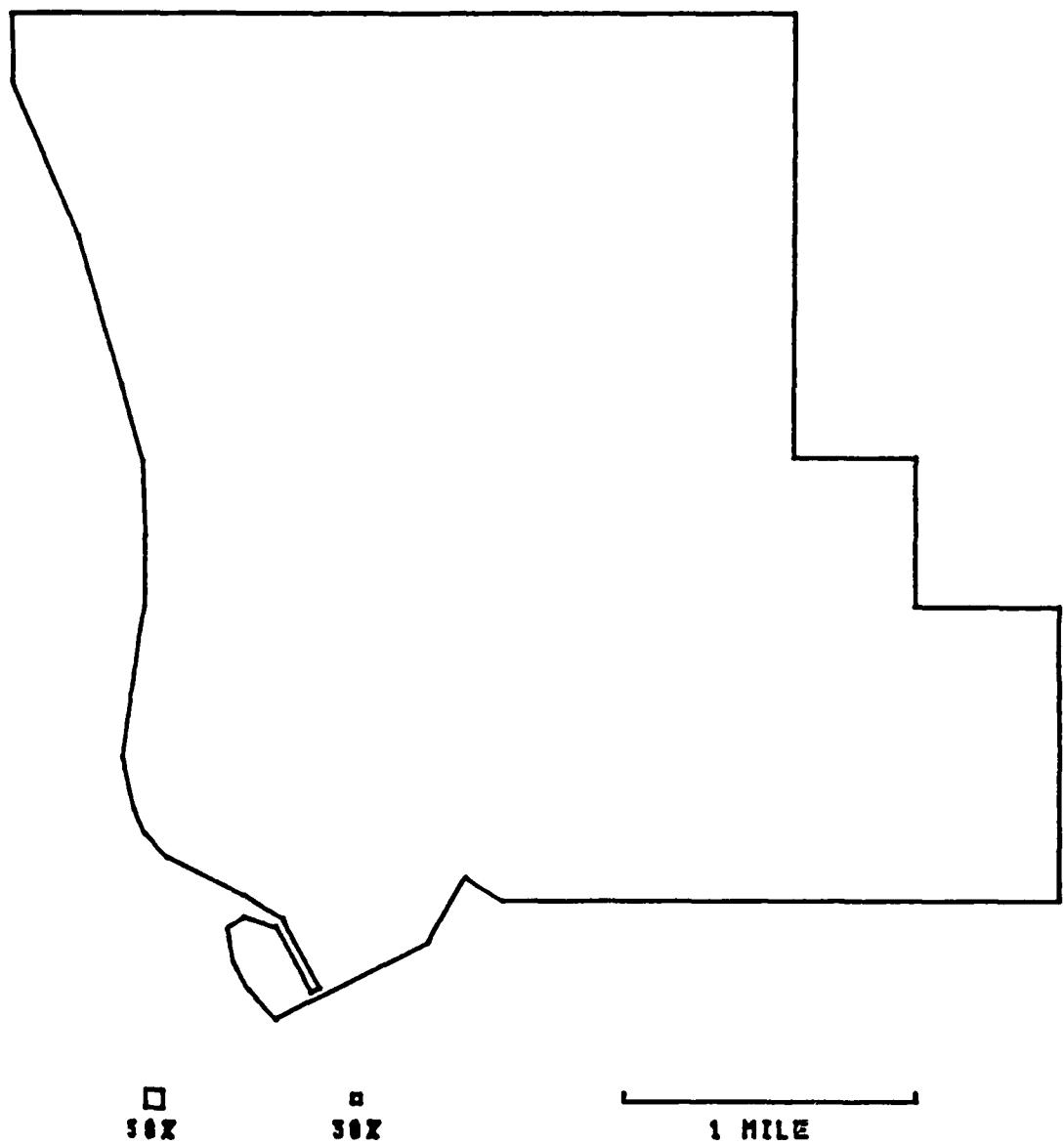
84



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: OTHER SLAVS

FIGURE 3-37

85

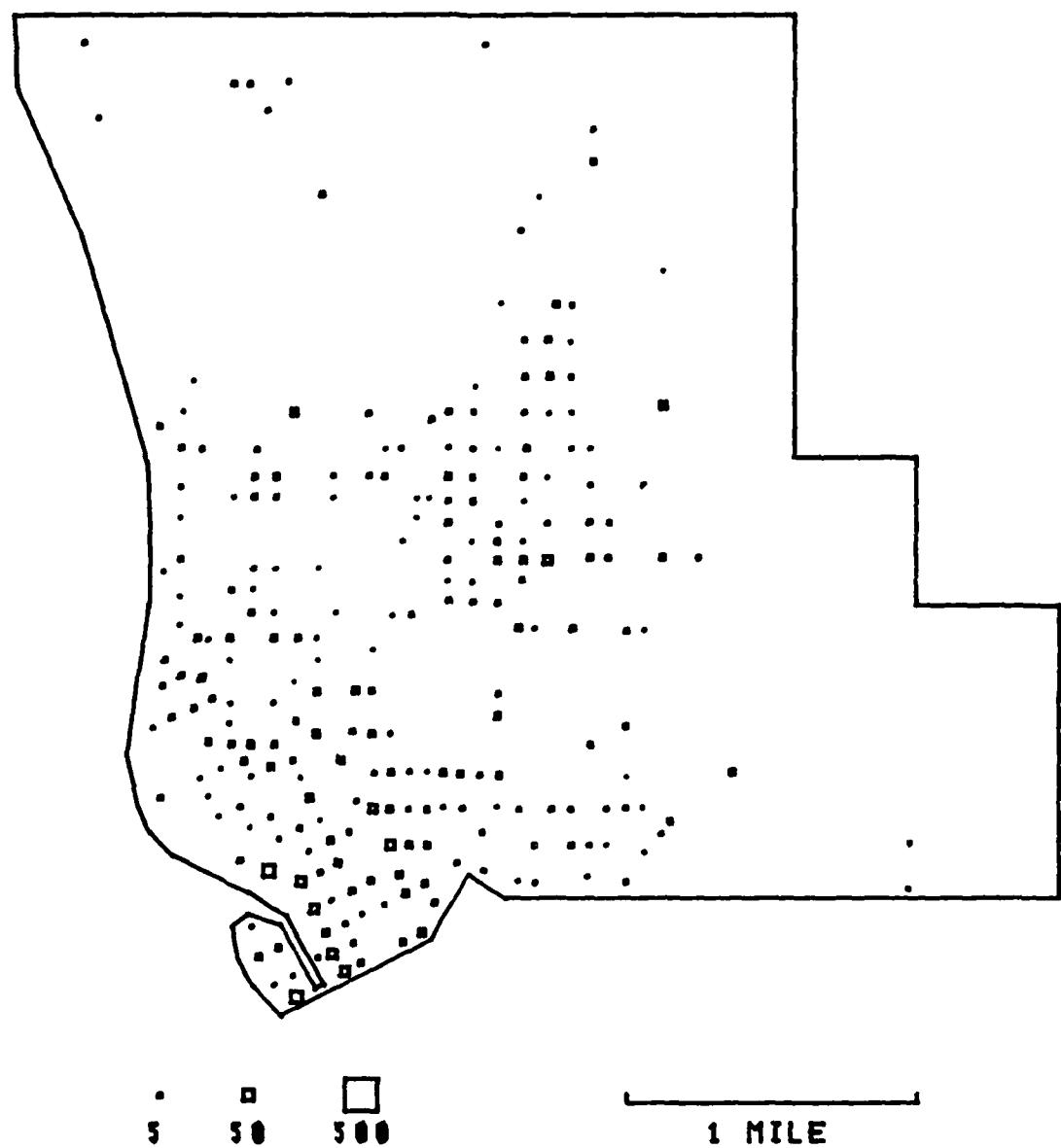


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: OTHER SLAVS

FIGURE 3-38

86



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905: ALL OTHERS

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NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS: LOCATION AND MOVEMENT IN AN ETHNIC COMMU—ETC(U)
JUN 79 R WOLNIEWICZ

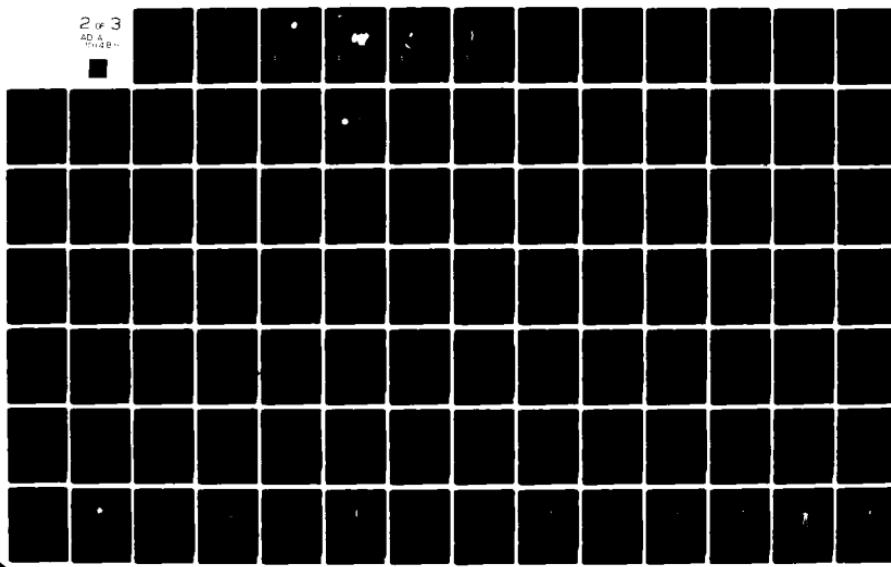
F/6 5/11

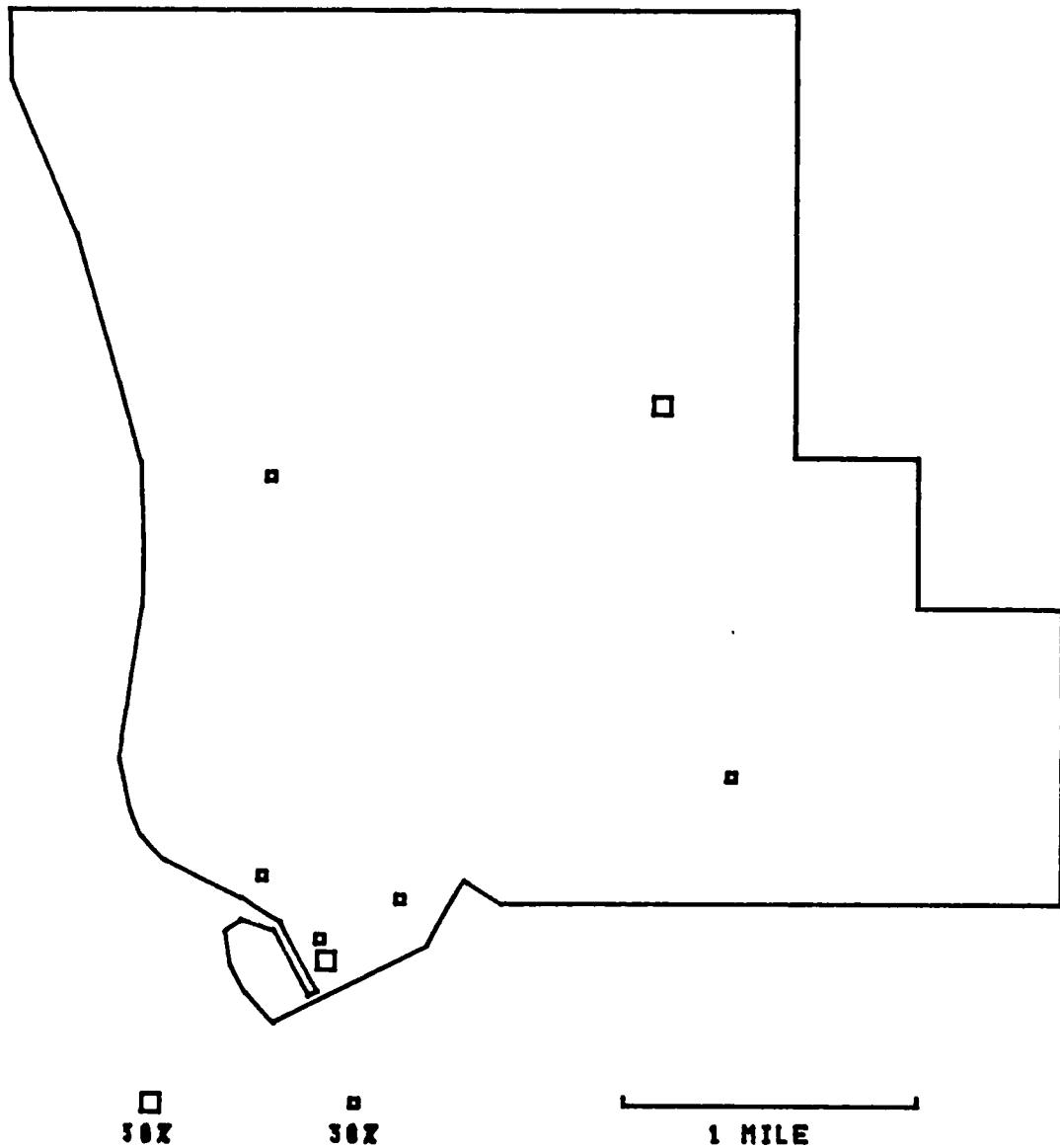
UNCLASSIFIED

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AD A
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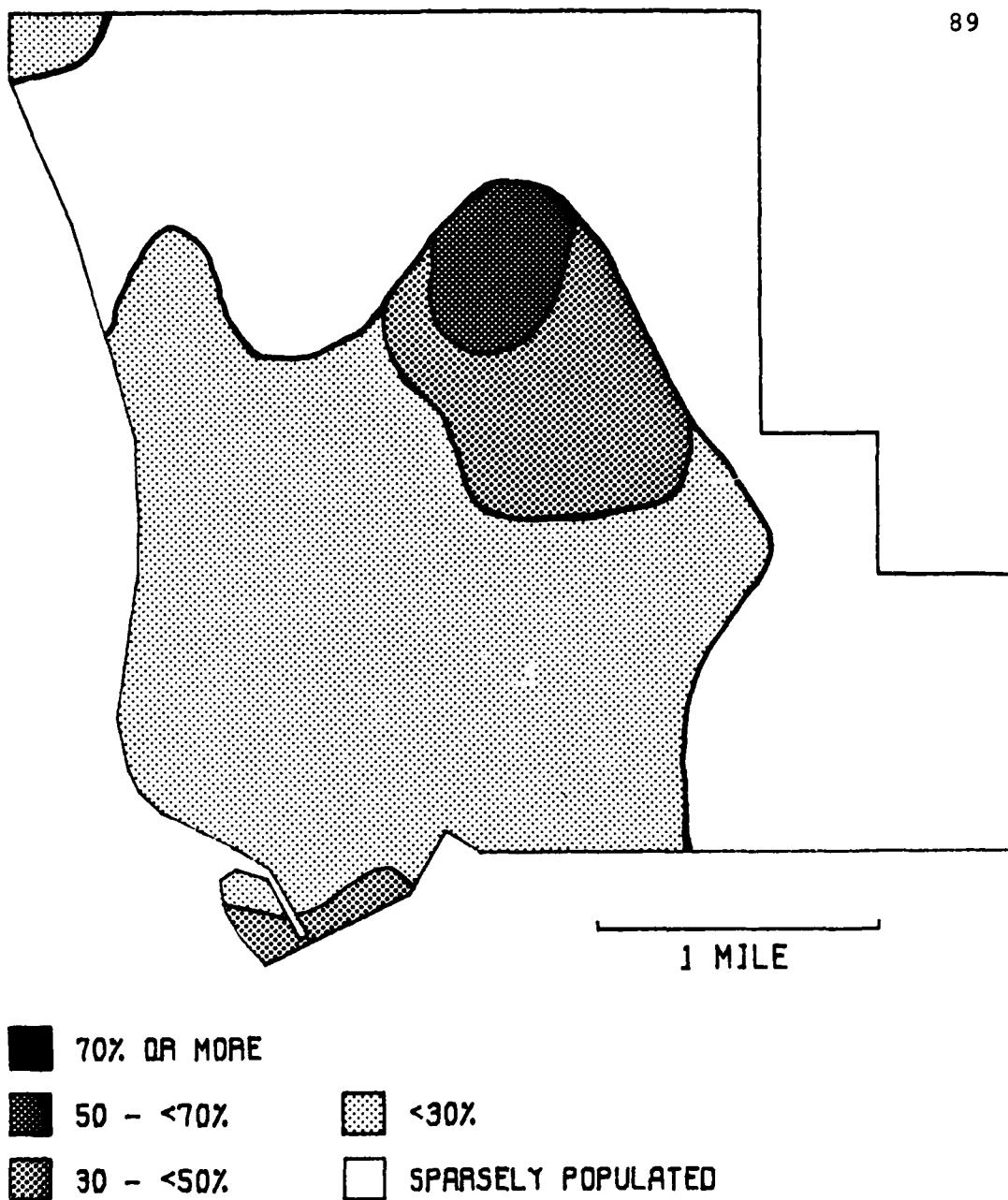


NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1985

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION: ALL OTHERS

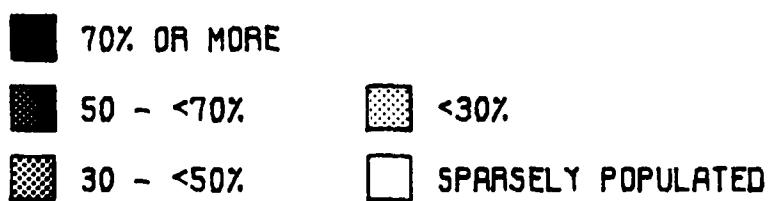
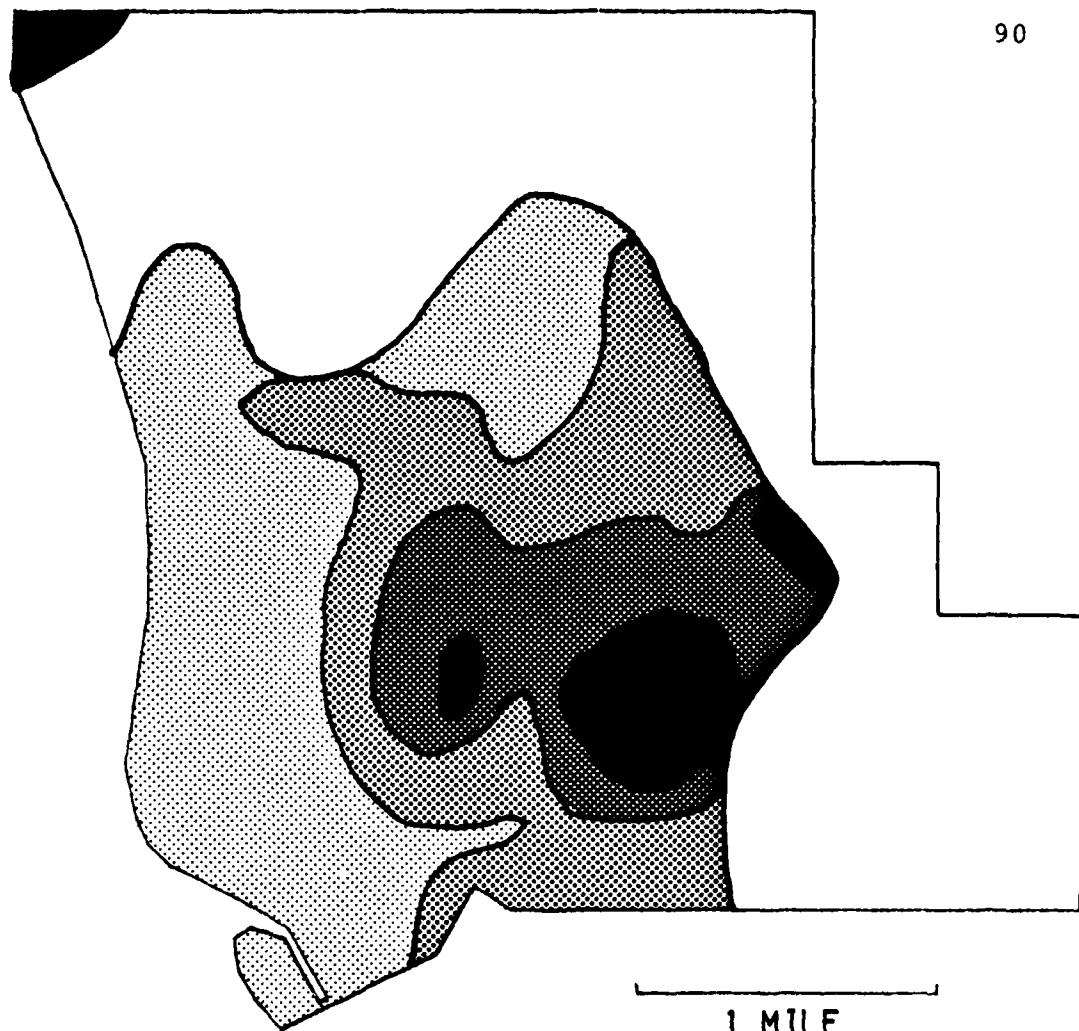
Those occupying the three blocks adjoining the River in the extreme southwest were Syrian-Lebanese. The seventh block had an Italian composition.

The patterns presented in Figures 3-14 to 3-39 were summarized by combining several of the groups into related ethnic categories and further aggregating block populations. All of the people on each block who belonged to each of the four most numerous categories, the Scandinavian, German, Slavic and British-American, were assigned the coordinates of the block's center. A grid with a gradation of .2 miles was superimposed on the map and each block's total population and ethnic sub-populations were summed with the other blocks whose centers fell within the same .2 mile square. These populations were further aggregated by summing the four .2 mile squares around each of the intersection points on the grid. Percentages for each of the major ethnic categories were calculated and plotted at each intersection point and isoquants connecting the thirty, fifty and seventy percent values were drawn. The resulting maps (Figures 3-40 to 3-44) depict the ethnic core areas of Northeast. They show the approximate percentage of people within .2 miles of any point that were in the given ethnic category. Most of Northeast's northern and eastern periphery was a sparsely populated area. Here there were fewer than 100 people within .2 miles of the grid intersection points. These sparsely populated areas



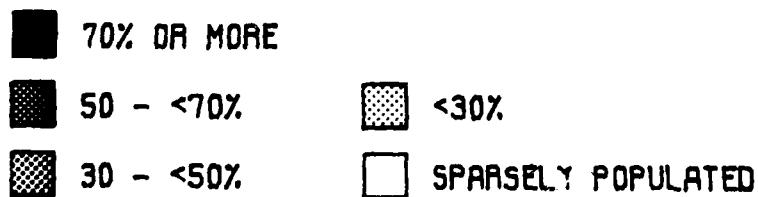
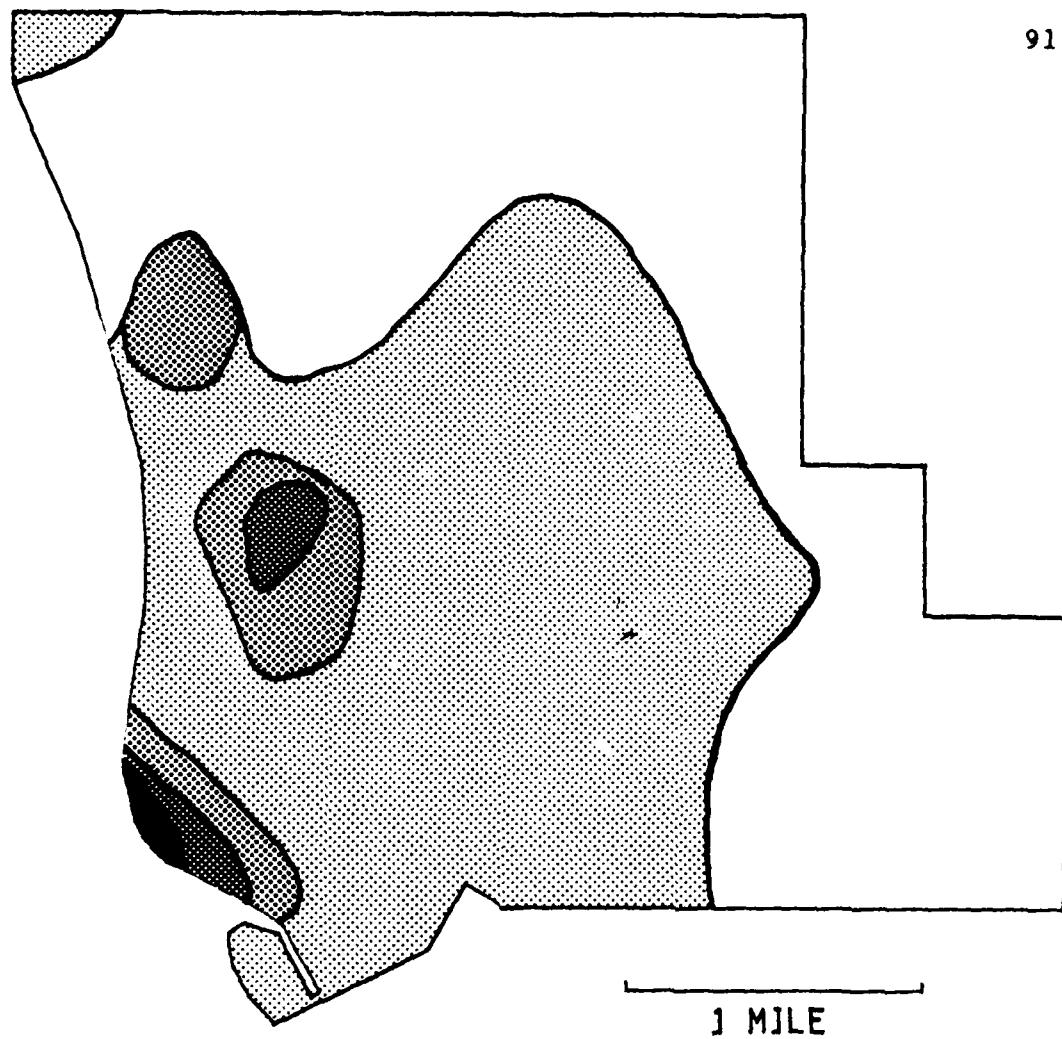
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 3-40 BRITISH AREAS



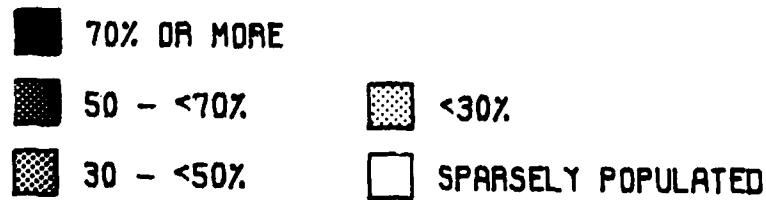
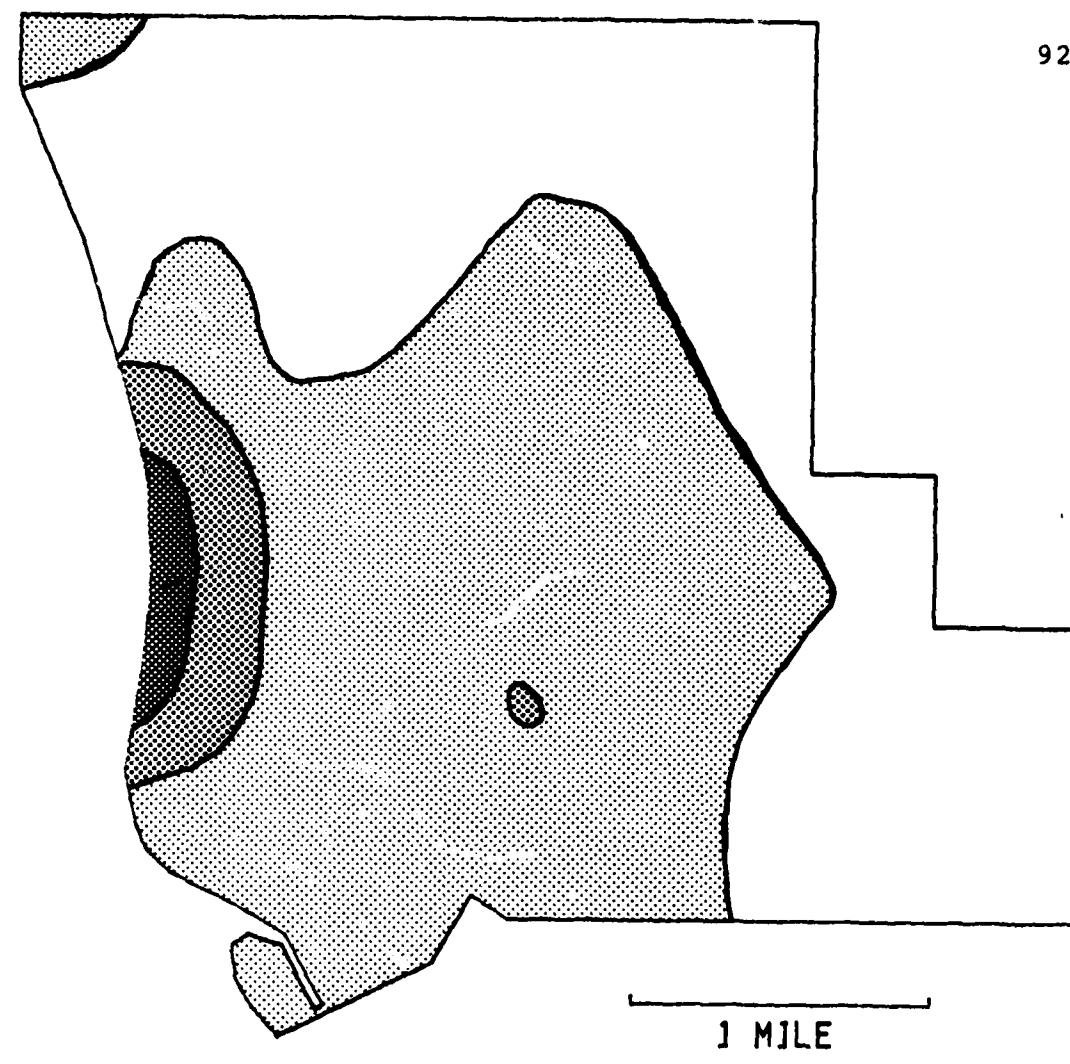
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 3-41 SCANDINAVIAN AREAS



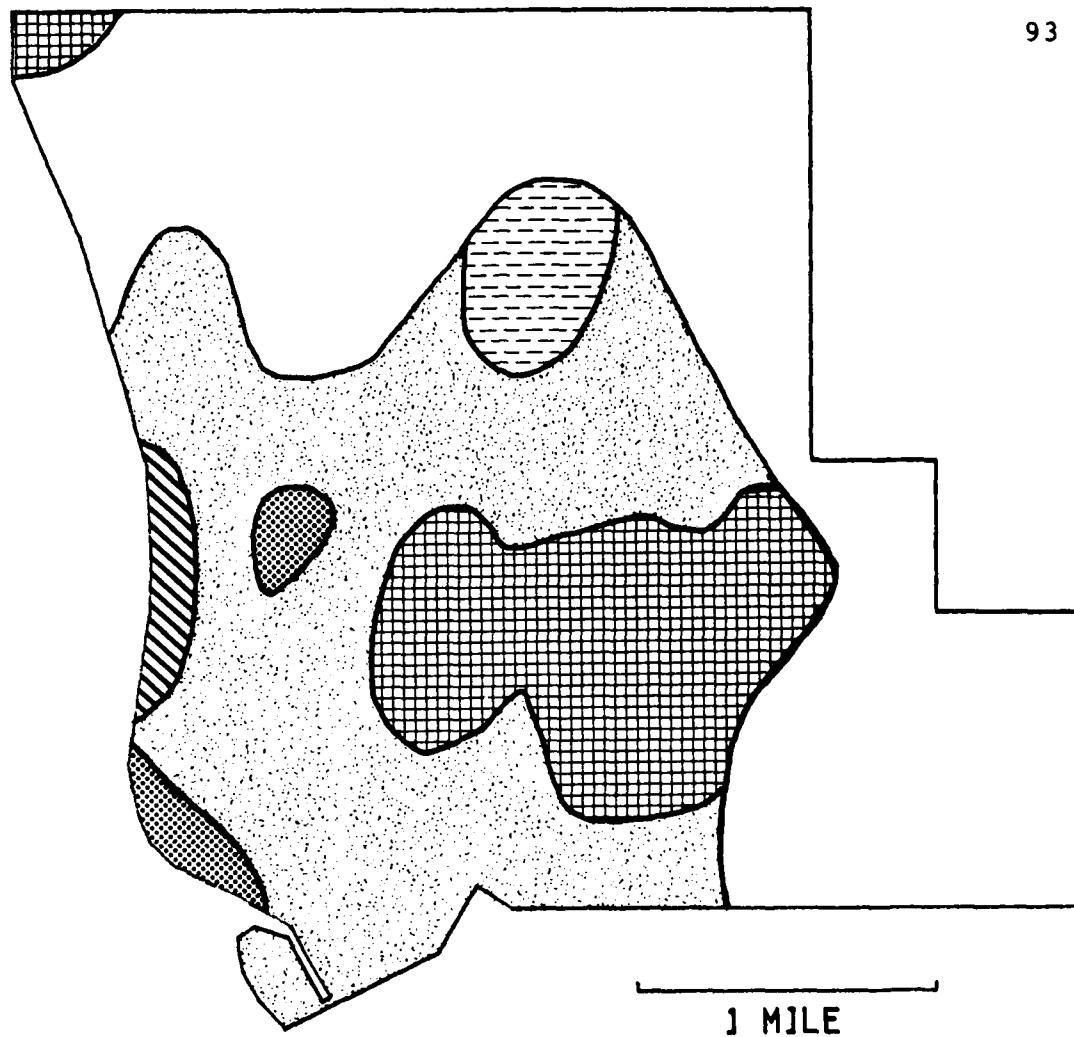
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 3-42 SLAVIC AREAS



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 3-43 GERMAN AREAS



■ SLAVIC	■ BRITISH
■ GERMAN	■ SCANDINAVIAN
■ MIXED	■ SPARSELY POPULATED

NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 3-44 ETHNIC CORE AREAS

(DESIGNATED GROUP HAS 50% OR MORE OF POPULATION)

received no ethnic classification.

A composite of the foregoing maps (Figure 3-44) is presented showing only those areas with over fifty percent in any ethnic category. A lower percentage could have been chosen, but a quick superposition of the maps on a light table revealed that it would add little to the analysis except confusion since ethnic areas could then overlap. The areas between the depicted ethnic categories were basically mixtures of the two adjoining ethnic categories anyway. For example, the population of the broad region between the British and Scandinavian areas of Figure 3-44 had between thirty and fifty percent of both British and Scandinavians. Even where thirty percent isolines of two groups did not overlap, the summation of the four categories in no case accounted for less than sixty-two percent of the population, at least when employing the aggregating and smoothing technique.

The broad generalization which emerges is that Lower Northeast, close to the River and the city center, was the domain of Slavs and Germans. The Scandinavians were dominant farther east in Lower Northeast and formed a substantial portion of Upper Northeast which they shared with their ethnic cousins, the British Americans.⁴

In comparison to other American cities of the period,

⁴ Professor Rice does not concur with this categorization.

Northeast Minneapolis did not display as high a density and, perhaps, not the ethnic concentration in percentage terms. Only six blocks in Northeast had more than 300 residents. Thirty-five blocks had between 200 and 300. Tenements seldom were higher than three stories in Northeast rather than the five or six in other large cities. As a absolute and percentage comparison, Parot found that the smallest block of the ten-block Stanislawowo area of Chicago had 974 inhabitants in 1906. The population of this ten-block area was 13,830 and over ninety-five percent of the 2,785 family heads were Polish. This sort of thing did not happen in Minneapolis.⁵

⁵ Parot, pp. 8-11.

CHAPTER IV

NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS

Northeast Minneapolis has been the home of numerous ethnic communities. The Scandinavian-German-Yankee pattern of domination typical of Minneapolis as a whole and, for that matter, Minnesota, was not as pronounced here. Northeast's industrial nature attracted many of the groups, especially the Slavs. It was, and remains, the site of numerous lumber yards, flour mills, breweries, foundries, small factories, and railroad repair shops. These activities provided ready employment for newly arrived immigrants who were unable to compete for jobs requiring greater experience in American business practices and a greater command of English than they possessed. Although not all Minneapolis' Poles lived in Northeast, the focus of the community was here. The other areas of Minneapolis where Poles lived shared similar characteristics.

The area early earned a reputation as a blue-collar working man's community, which it still retains. Adams stated that, unlike St. Paul, few neighborhoods in Minneapolis, have a definite social character or even bear names. St. Paul, he claimed, is a city of neighborhoods. By knowing a person's neighborhood in St. Paul you can

predict his general occupation, social class, and life-style. Northeast is one of the few areas of Minneapolis where the same is true. Adams also described the development of "high rent" districts to the south and west in Minneapolis noting that "no one who didn't have to live in Northeast."¹

Numerous respondents in a recent study classified Northeast as a working class district, corroborating the 1970 census findings that between thirty-four and fifty percent of employed persons worked as craftsmen, foremen and operatives.²

Few people in Northeast worked in the professional, technical, manager, official, and proprietor occupations, or as clerical and sales employees. Although in 1970 the occupational structure was still blue-collar, median family income in Northeast compared very favorably with the rest of Minneapolis. These facts suggest that, although the original immigrants held low-paying, unskilled jobs, their sons and grandsons have moved to skilled, but still blue-collar, jobs which are now among

¹John S. Adams, "The Commercial and Residential Structure of the Twin Cities," Lecture Number 11 in the Geography of the Twin Cities course, University of Minnesota, April 1974.

²Richard Wolniewicz, Ethnic Persistence in Northeast Minneapolis: Maps and Commentary, Minnesota Project on Ethnic America, Research Study Number 1, September 1973; City of Minneapolis, Planning and Development, Supplement 6, 1970 Profile of Minneapolis Communities, Preliminary Report #1, Maps Z to BB.

the best paying.³ Simirenko noted that Northeast's physical appearance was one of well kept single and double dwelling units and that its unpopularity "in the eyes of the larger community is primarily social in character and not based upon the condition of the neighborhood."⁴ Its reputation, then, stems from its occupational and ethnic composition rather than from its physical appearance or income status, although these had been low at one time.

Far from being ashamed of their reputation, Northeasterners cultivate it. Their folk hero, Swen Ivan O'Myron Wisnewski, emerged in 1973 as an assertion of their pride and perhaps as a psychological defense mechanism. Swen, an ethnic amalgam, has shoulders two axe handles wide, a twenty-two inch waist, "chugs" beer by the keg, and steals the girl of an Edinan, his supposed social opposite. He is the Northeasterners way of saying "we're as good as you."⁵

Northeast's poor social reputation contributed to

³ 1970 Profile of Minneapolis Communities, Map DD. Of fourteen census tracts in Northeast in 1970, five were in the highest quintile of Minneapolis' incomes, one was in the second, and six were in the third quintile. Three were in the fourth quintile and none were in the lowest.

⁴ Simirenko, p. 130.

⁵ Jim Klobuchar, "He Claims Swen Got a Homer Call," Minneapolis Star, n.d., 1973. Edina, another community near Minneapolis with a distinct identity, is comparable to Darien, Connecticut in social structure. Vance Packard, A Nation of Strangers, (New York: Pocket Books, 1974), p. 33.

the slow residential growth of the area, but was not the only factor. The obviously industrial character of the area must have discouraged residential growth as it did in other American cities.⁶

Regional forces contribute to residential growth along the main routes connecting a metropolis to its hinterland. Because most of the Twin Cities' hinterland lies to their west, the major routes radiate northwest, west and southwest from Minneapolis and east to St. Paul. No major growth radial passes through Northeast.⁷

The expansion of the commercial center of the city can influence residential growth. Growth is usually accelerated in the direction in which the business district is expanding. Minneapolis' Central Business District developed on the west bank of the Mississippi River, away from the Northeast section of the city.⁸

⁶ Minneapolis grew much slower to the northeast than to the north, west or south. John S. Adams, "Directional Bias," p. 321; Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in Studies in Human Ecology, Theodorson ed., p. 62.

⁷ Davie, p. 81.

⁸ Robert Ezra Park, "Human Ecology," in Studies in Human Ecology, p. 25; Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41; and Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "The Natural Areas of the City," *Ibid.*, p. 46. Recently Ward has reinforced the notion that the rate and direction of the CBD's expansion determines the rate of invasion and succession of adjoining ethnic colonies. David Ward, Cities and Immigrants, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 118-26.

Borchert noted that one of the major axis of medium and low density housing of the upper and middle classes pushed south and southwest of St. Anthony over flat and gently rolling terrain to the amenity area provided by the two large lakes within Minneapolis and the morainic belt near the city's western boundary and beyond. This accentuated area of growth, echoed in the street car routes, was already evident by 1900.⁹

In summary, the forces which encourage residential growth were lacking in Northeast. Its industrial character; its fragmented settlement pattern; the presence of "undesirable" ethnic groups; and the location of Minneapolis' hinterland, high rent district, and CBD all worked against Northeast's rapid residential development.

Although income in Northeast had risen to very respectable levels by 1970, this was certainly not the case for the Poles living there or in the rest of Minneapolis in 1905. Many lacked steady employment, being classified as day laborers or simply laborers. This category actually accounted for 70.3 percent of male Polish workers then. When laborers in specific industries, such as the railroads or lumber yards, and service workers are combined, the percentage of unskilled workers is even higher (Table 4-1). Skilled occupations

⁹John R. Borchert, "The Twin Cities Urbanized Area: Past, Present, Future," Geographical Review 51 (1961), p. 61.

TABLE 4-1

PERCENTAGE OF POLES BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY IN 1905

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Northeast Minneapolis</u>	<u>Other Minneapolis</u>	<u>Total^a</u>
Professional, Technical, Managers, Officials and Proprietors	3.7	2.3	3.4
Clerical and Sales	2.5	2.7	2.6
Craftsmen, Foremen and Operatives	9.0	14.3	10.2
<u>Laborers, Service Workers and Household Workers</u>	<u>84.8</u>	<u>80.7</u>	<u>83.8</u>

^aThe total number of male Polish workers in Minneapolis was 1132 and 873 lived in Northeast.

TABLE 4-2

AGE AND NATIVITY CHARACTERISTICS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Nativity</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	
Under 16	77	529	0	606
16-35	642	120	0	762
36-65	388	12	0	400
Over 65	12	0	0	12
Unknown	4	0	1	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>1123</u>	<u>661</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1785</u>

TABLE 4-3

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Single^a</u>	<u>Married or Widowed</u>	
Under 16	606	0	606
16-35	522	240	762
36-65	145	255	400
Over 65	3	9	12
Unknown	5	0	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>1281</u>	<u>504</u>	<u>1785</u>

^aMay include individuals with wives and/or children in the old country.

provided jobs for just over ten percent of the Poles in Minneapolis and both professional-managerial and clerical and sales categories had very low percentages. The occupational structure of Poles in Northeast did not vary much from those in other parts of the city.

The age, marital, and nativity statistics of the 1785 Polish males are easily described and hold no surprises. They were young. Over seventy-five (76.6) percent were under thirty-six years old (Table 4-2). Most (62.9 percent) were of foreign birth (Table 4-2). Over 71 percent were single or had their wives and children in the old country (Table 4-3). Among males sixteen and older, bachelors outnumbered married ones 675 to 504.

In this chapter a statistical picture of the Polish community of Minneapolis in 1905 emerges which does not differ markedly from the general model of developing ethnic communities.¹⁰ It was a community of young adults and children. Most of the young adults were male and single. Most worked at unskilled, low-paying occupations, often on a temporary, tenuous basis. We have also witnessed the development of a regional consciousness over a small part of Minneapolis which has as a foundation an amalgamation of various ethnic groups and blue-collar occupations and which is personified in Swen.

¹⁰ Ward, pp. 107-9.

CHAPTER V

DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENCES AND TENURE IN STATE IN 1905

This chapter evaluates the hypothesis that recent immigrants benefit from the experience of previous immigrants by locating on the fringe of the ethnic area. To operationalize this problem, some assumptions, definitions and delimitations concerning the various parts of the ethnic community must be made. The very statement of the hypothesis assumes one can differentiate the "core" and "fringe" of the community from each other or other parts of the community.

The common conception of the growth of an ethnic community combines and relates socioeconomic and spatial development, the developmental process being referred to as the immigrants' ladder. Summarized by Jordan and Rowntree, the immigrants' ladder begins in the core of the ethnic community (Figure 5-1).¹ The core is the area which is first dominated by the ethnic group and is a region of cheap housing where transient hotels, boarding houses, and small apartments subdivided from larger ones abound. It is the port of entry for the immigrants, and

¹Jordan and Rowntree, pp. 366-67. These authors draw heavily upon such classic and recent authorities as Park, Burgess, Adams and Ward.

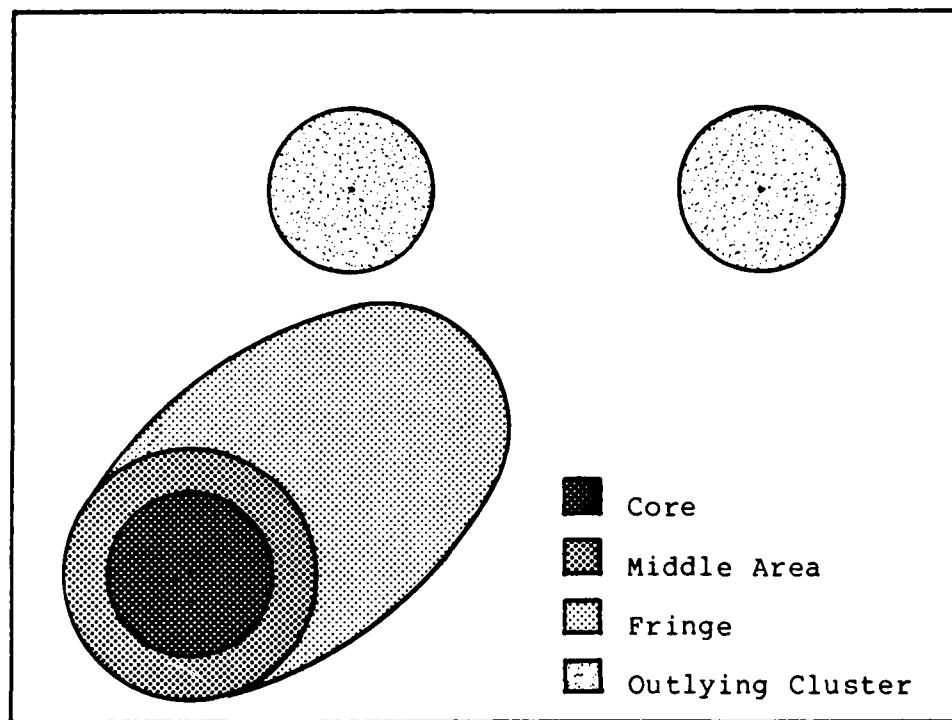


FIGURE 5-1 Ethnic Zones (After Jordan and Rowntree)

is populated by a large number of young, single men who have come without their families and who lack skills and information about jobs. It is an area of high unemployment and temporary employment. If the core-area residents obtain steady jobs, they move to more permanent dwellings of larger flats or even houses, which cost more and have more space. Families are brought over from the migrants' origin or are newly formed in the new country. The middle area adjoins the core (Figure 5-1). Entrance to the middle area is achieved by successfully rising on the occupational ladder, even if only in terms of maintaining

a steady but low-paying job. Adjoining the middle area is the fringe where live only those group members who are more skilled, better educated, or able to afford higher rents. Non-group members living in the areas adjoining the middle area may thwart the development of a fringe in which case group members from the core or middle area may leap-frog over the non-group individuals to form outlying clusters.

This summary suggests several criteria for defining the core and fringe. For ease of analysis only these two general areas will be used rather than the four suggested by Jordan and Rowntree. The word "core" suggests some sort of temporal or numerical primacy. Definitions suggested in the immigrants' ladder concept are: 1) the area where the most recent arrivals start out, the port of entry, 2) the area the group first settled, 3) the area where the group is most numerous in an absolute sense, and 4) the area where they constitute a large portion of the population. Fringe is defined as that area which is not core.

The immigrants' ladder does not deal specifically with generational differences, but it seems to apply to the original immigrants and not to the second generation. A first generation sub-group was defined as those Polish males who were born overseas and had arrived in Minnesota at an age of sixteen or more. All males under sixteen

were excluded because a child's residence is not dependent upon his own choice or his economic status, but upon his family's. Willy-nilly he assumes the residence of his parents. The assumption was also made that a male sixteen or over is able to support himself and that his residence, whether he strikes out on his own or remains with his family, reflects his own choice. It was also assumed that anyone who had arrived in Minnesota at a young age would have had life experiences resembling persons born in the United States. A more precise definition of the second generation is left to subsequent chapters.

The first generation members in Northeast were further divided into six tenure groups, those with twelve or fewer months in Minnesota, one to five years (thirteen to sixty months), five to ten years, ten to fifteen years, fifteen to twenty years, and those with over twenty years. A further reason for excluding children is now evident. Children, by reason of their age, can have only resided in the state a few years. Their inclusion would have distorted the residential structure of the lower tenure groups. At least 720 first generation Poles lived in Northeast Minneapolis in 1905.

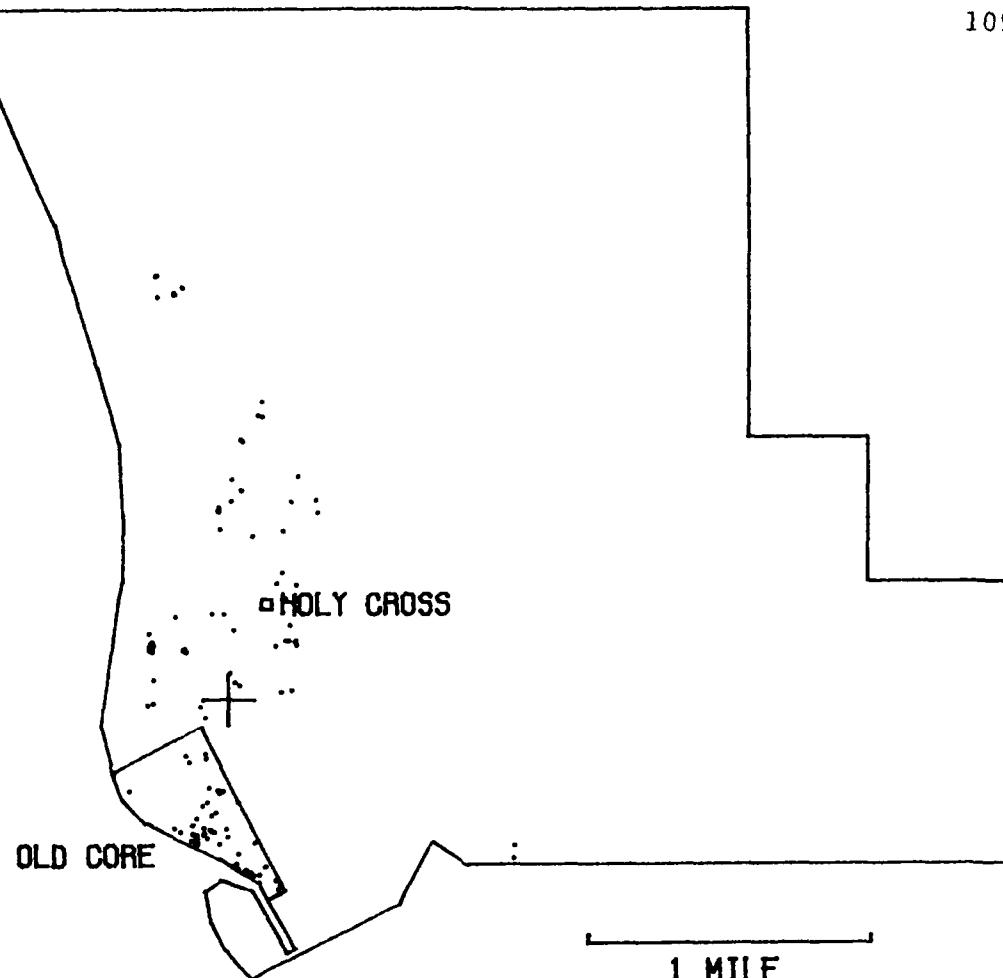
Considering the first definition of the core as the port of entry for the newly arrived immigrants, it follows from the immigrants' ladder concept that the most recent migrants in 1905 would have been tightly grouped into a

small central area with people of increasing tenure at farther distances. My hypothesis suggests that many newcomers would be found on the fringe. The data support the idea that the immigrants' ladder exists (Table 5-1a and Figures 5-2 through 5-7). The mean center of each tenure category moves away, with only minor exceptions, from the central city and the oldest Polish neighborhood. Many recent arrivals resided near the Mississippi and Seventh Avenue; only one with over twenty years did. The notion of the core as the port of entry where recent migrants were tightly grouped (Figure 5-1), however, is not supported at all. Polish migrants with twelve or fewer months in the state were distributed throughout the Polish community (compare Figure 5-2 with Figure 3-12). They lived in all the major Polish concentrations of Lower Northeast. Their standard distance, a crude measure of dispersion, was greater than that for all Polish males in Northeast (Tables 3-3 and 5-1a). The distribution of Poles with one to five years resembled that of Poles with a year or less. They, too, were found widely dispersed in Lower Northeast and their standard distance exceeded that of all Polish males in Northeast.

Defining the core as the area the group originally settled produced very similiar conclusions to those just obtained. The area which the Poles and other Slavic groups first settled in Northeast was the low-lying area

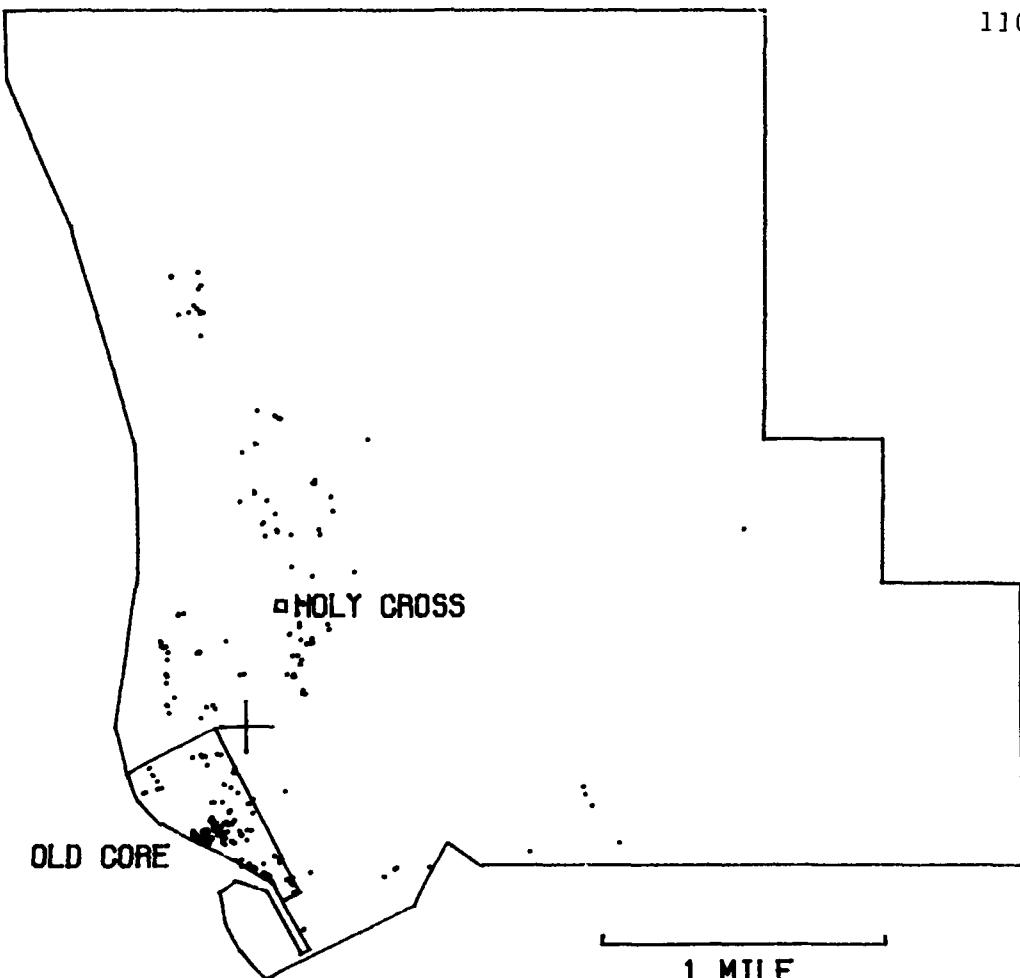
TABLE 5-1
DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST GENERATION POLES IN 1905

	Tenure in Minnesota in years						Total
	0-1	>1-5	>5-10	>10-15	>15-20	>20	
a. Measures of Distribution (in miles)							
Number	146	300	75	121	46	32	720
Mean Center Coordinates							
N-S	1.560	1.469	1.621	1.618	1.638	1.765	1.552
E-W	.029	.042	.130	.134	.146	.294	.082
Standard Distance in miles	.593	.607	.662	.564	.516	.461	
b. Core Defined as the Area of Original Settlement							
In Old Core							
Number	62	151	24	34	13	0	284
Percentage	42.5	50.3	32.0	28.1	28.3	0	39.4
On Fringe							
Number	84	149	51	87	33	32	436
Percentage	57.5	49.7	68.0	71.9	71.7	100.0	60.6
c. Core Defined as Most Populated Polish Blocks							
With Thirty or More							
Number	87	177	28	61	21	9	383
Percentage	59.6	59.0	37.3	50.4	45.7	28.1	53.2
With Less than Thirty							
Number	59	123	47	60	25	23	337
Percentage	40.4	41.0	62.9	49.6	54.3	71.9	46.8
d. Blocks Where Poles Constitute Various Population Percentages							
50 Per Cent or More of the Block Population							
Number	20	49	5	18	7	0	99
Percentage	13.7	16.3	6.7	14.9	15.2	0	13.8
30 to 49.9 Per Cent							
Number	25	51	19	33	10	8	146
Percentage	17.1	17.0	25.3	27.3	21.7	25.0	20.3
Less than 30 Per Cent							
Number	101	200	51	70	29	24	475
Percentage	69.2	66.7	68.0	57.8	63.0	75.0	66.0



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

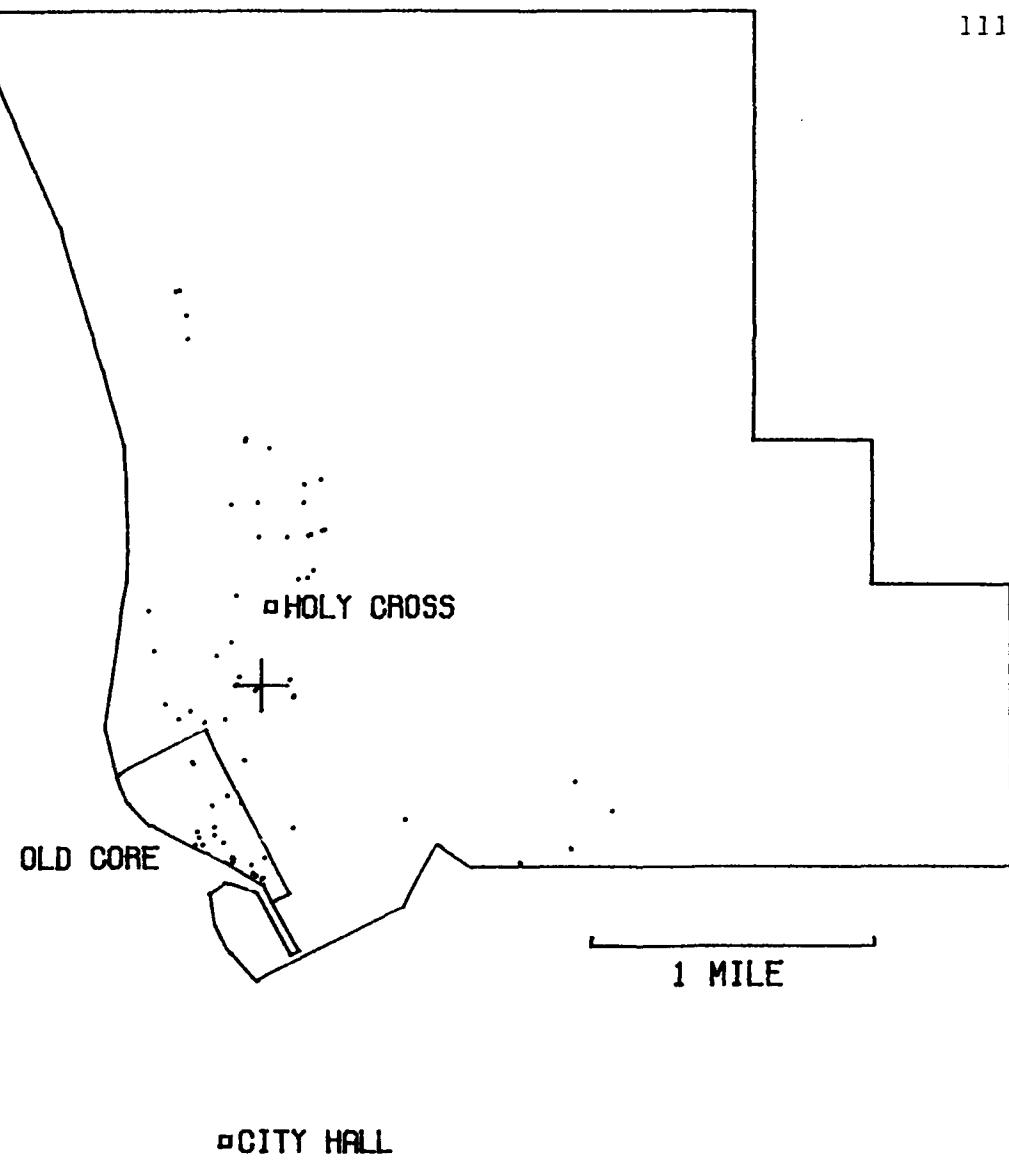
FIGURE 5-2 FIRST GENERATION WITH
1 YEAR OR LESS



▫CITY HALL

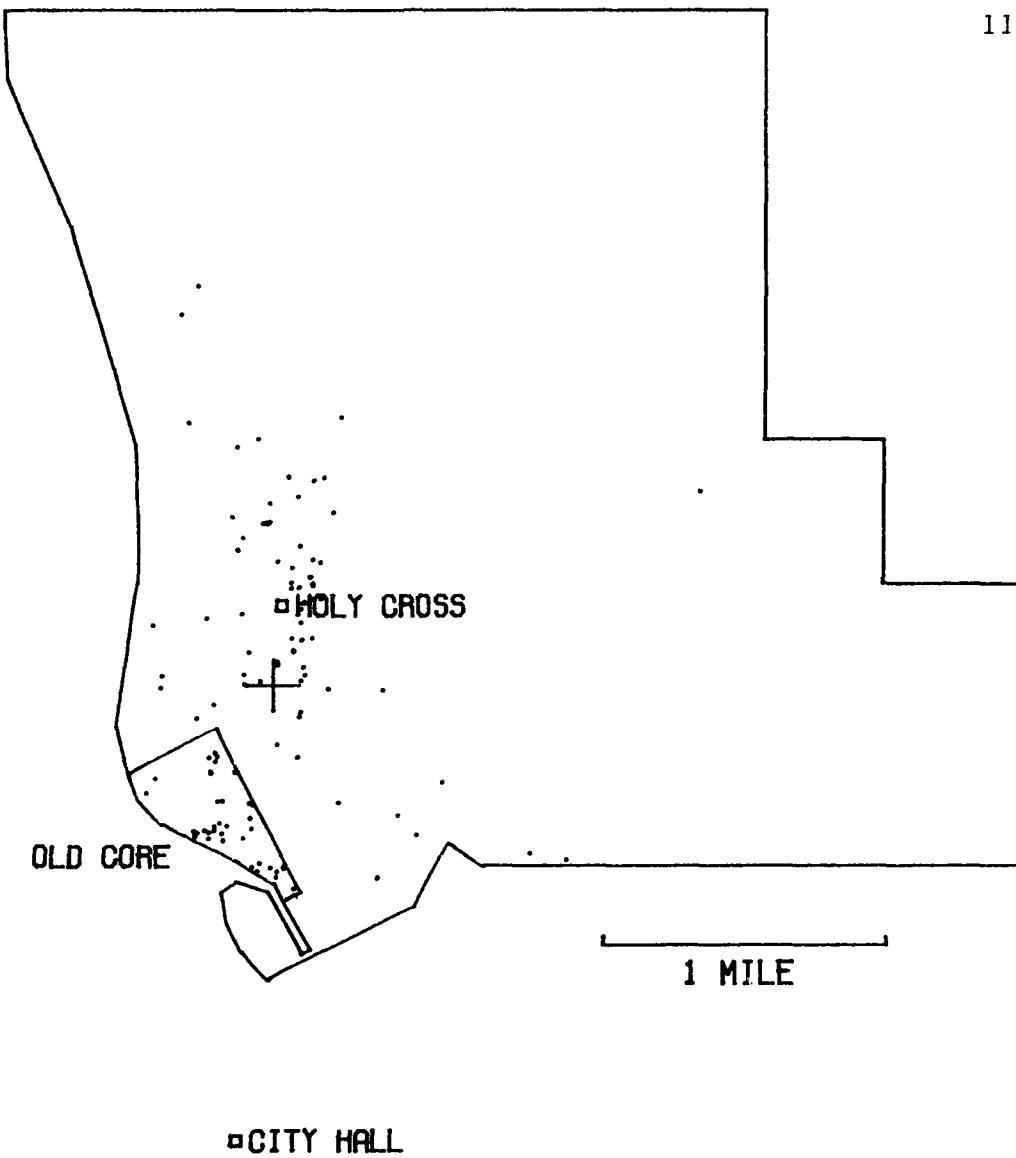
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 5-3 FIRST GENERATION WITH
1 TO 5 YEARS



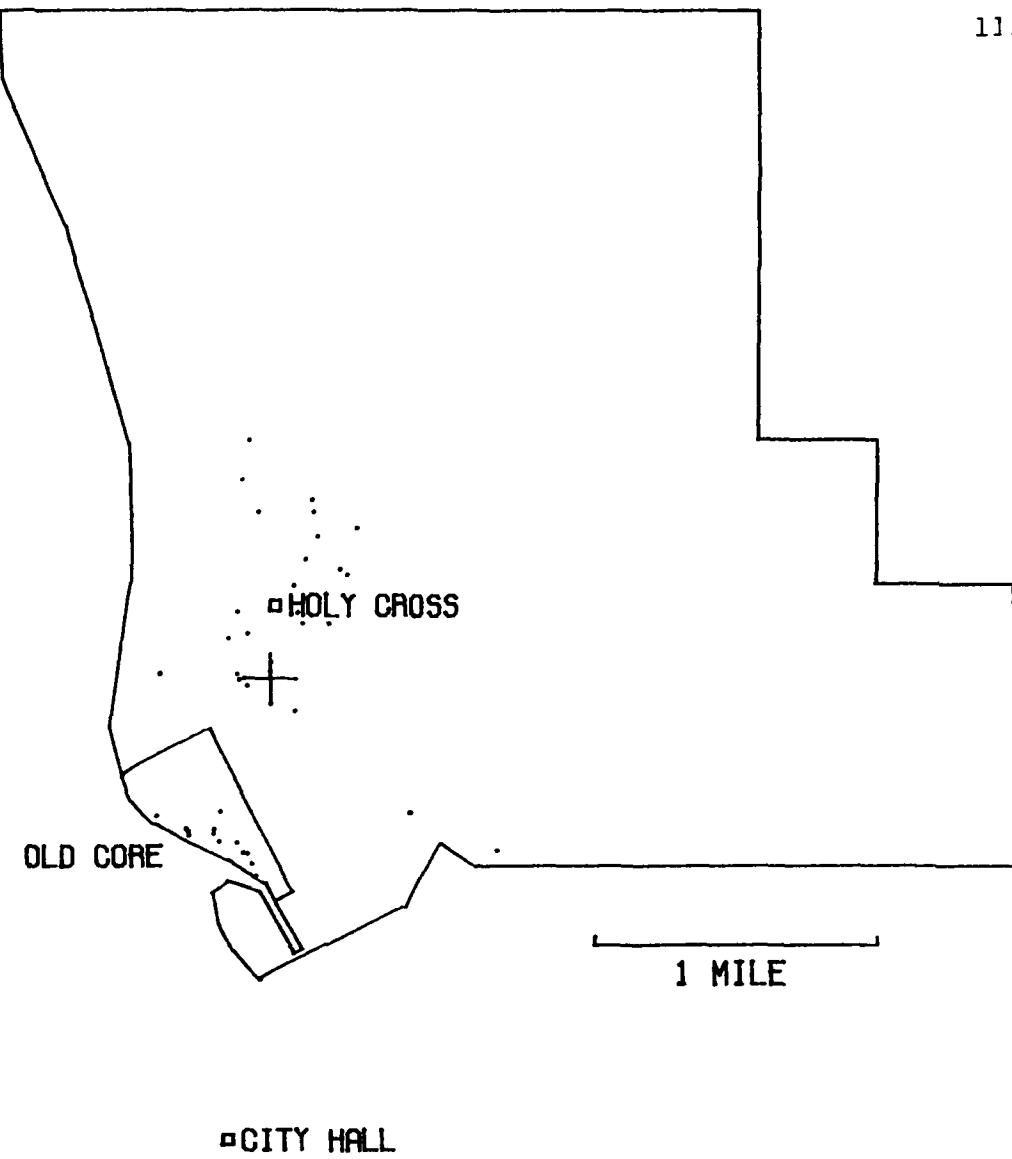
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 5-4 FIRST GENERATION WITH
5 TO 10 YEARS



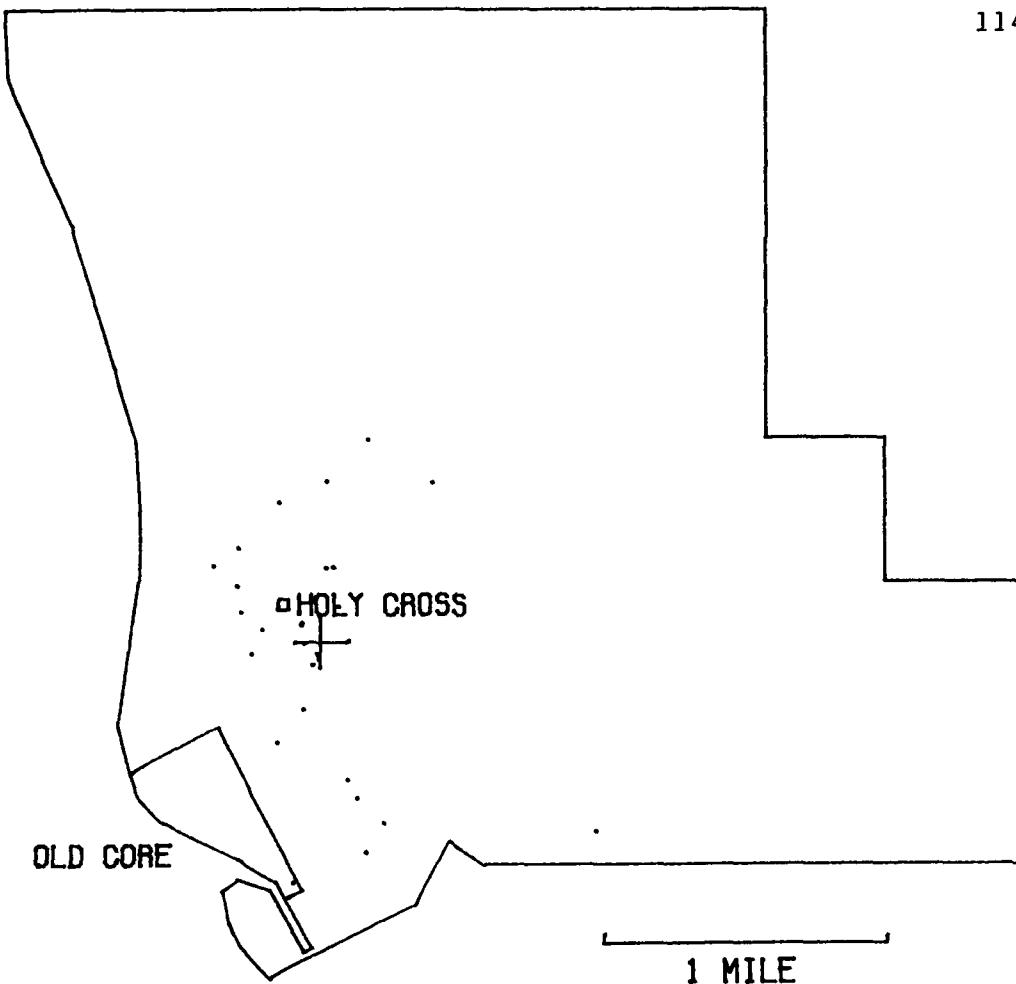
NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 5-5 FIRST GENERATION WITH
10 TO 15 YEARS



NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 5-6 FIRST GENERATION WITH
15 TO 20 YEARS



•CITY HALL

NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS-1905

FIGURE 5-7 FIRST GENERATION WITH
OVER 20 YEARS

on the Mississippi's east bank opposite Nicolett and Boom Islands. Around 1886 the area lay between Third and Eighth Avenues and between the Mississippi River and Marshall Street.² The area, referred to as the Flats, sloped gently down to the riverside. The immigrants here found housing in two and three-story apartment buildings and their basements. The long rectangular buildings contained up to ten alcoves along each side with the back of the flats abutting each other so that the bedrooms had no windows. The occupants in some cases rented the rooms using the hot bed system in which they occupied the apartments only during the twelve hours of each day they were not working.

I enlarged slightly upon Chmielewski's dimensions by defining the old Polish core as the area between Third and Eleventh Avenues and the Mississippi and Main Street. Chmielewski's area comprised eleven city blocks; the enlarged area twenty-six. Using this definition, only 42.5 percent of the most recent immigrants were in the old core (Table 5-1b). A bare majority of immigrants with one to five years was in it. With successive tenure groups the percentage of Poles living outside the old core grows to 100 percent. This trend supports the immigrants'

²Edward A. Chmielewski, "History of Holy Cross," (Unpublished Master's Thesis. St. Paul Seminary, 1960), p. 17; Simirenko, p. 40.

ladder concept in so far as it predicts a movement away from the core with increasing tenure.

On the other hand, the data (Table 5-1b) provide little support for either the hypothesis stating that recent arrivals will be exclusively at the core or only on the fringe. The most recent arrivals had a greater representation outside the old core (57.5 percent) than in it, although this majority was not overwhelming. The one to five year category had nearly equal representation outside the old core as in it (49.7 percent to 50.3).

The data do not allow us to make any statement concerning the relative values of migration away from the area of first settlement and into the blocks farther out or the relative values of birth and death rates on any of the blocks. Some insight on birth performance can be gained, however, by noting the location of and the number of dependents of various tenure groups of 1905 and by recalling the characterization of the core and middle area of the immigrants' ladder. The old core, according to Jordan and Rowntree, was inhabited mostly by young, single and married men who had come without their families. As tenure increased, their economic stability increased, allowing them to start new families or to bring their families from the old country to America. These dependents required more space which could be had by moving away from the old core.

The data are in line with the immigrants' ladder concept (Table 5-2). Quite obviously as tenure increased, regardless of location, the average number of dependents per first generation male also increased. Additionally, in each tenure group the Poles on the blocks outside the core with thirty or more Poles had the highest average number of dependents. The difference between the average number of dependents on these more populated blocks outside the core and the average of the other two block categories also increased with increased tenure. They had more than their proportional share of dependents while the first generation members in the other two areas had less than their numbers warranted.

Another way of defining the core is as those blocks on which Poles were most numerous in an absolute sense. This results in a more diffuse core; it is not a compact area with a simple boundary. In Northeast in 1905, one or more Poles lived on 148 of the 506 inhabited blocks, but nearly half (49.0 percent) lived on just twenty-two blocks having thirty Poles or more. An attempt was made to use this core definition and although comparisons of the various tenure groups of 1905 were made, methodological problems rendered the comparisons meaningless. The definition of the core as the blocks on which Poles constitute a given percentage of the population also has limitations.

TABLE 5-2
FIRST GENERATION POLISH MALES AND THEIR DEPENDENTS ON
SELECTED BLOCKS OF NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS IN 1905

	Tenure in Minnesota in years						
	0-1	>1-5	>5-10	>10-15	>15-20	>20	Total
Blocks with 30 or More Poles in the Old Core							
Dependents	19	116	35	93	40	0	303
Percentage ^a	33.9	42.0	20.1	20.2	19.3	0	22.7
1st Generation	53	131	15	28	10	0	237
Percentage	36.3	43.7	20.2	23.1	21.7	0	32.9
Average ^b	.36	.89	2.33	3.32	4.00	-	1.28
Blocks Not in the Old Core with 30 or More Poles							
Dependents	23	47	35	151	61	55	372
Percentage	41.1	17.0	20.1	32.8	29.5	34.0	27.9
1st Generation	34	46	13	33	11	9	146
Percentage	23.3	15.3	17.3	27.3	23.9	28.1	20.3
Average	.68	1.02	2.69	4.56	5.55	6.11	2.54
Blocks with Less Than 30 Poles							
Dependents	14	113	104	216	106	107	660
Percentage	25.0	40.9	59.8	47.0	51.2	66.0	49.4
1st Generation	59	123	47	60	25	23	337
Percentage	40.4	41.0	62.7	49.6	54.3	71.9	46.8
Average	.24	.92	2.21	3.60	4.24	4.65	1.92
Total in all of Northeast							
Dependents	56	276	174	460	207	162	1335
1st Generation	146	300	75	121	46	32	720
Average	.38	.92	2.32	3.80	4.50	5.06	1.85

^aPercentages listed are those of first generation members or dependents of first generation members in each respective tenure group in the various block categories. Column, not row, percentages sum to 100.0, except for rounding.

^bAverage number of dependents per first generation member.

Although the data suggest a movement away from the city center and the area of first settlement with increasing tenure, they do not really reflect the changing residential pattern of one group of people, who have arrived in one period, through time. (Tables 5-1a and 5-1b). Rather they compare at one instant the residential patterns of different groups which had arrived at different times and had experienced differing social and economic conditions during their stay in Minneapolis.

A next logical question is whether the mean center of each group of 1905 showed a farther removal from the old core and the city center at successive times (1915, 1925, 1935) and whether concentration in the old core also lessened. For this analysis the two lowest tenure groups are combined (Table 5-3). All except the over twenty year group, are five year tenure groups.

There was an obvious decrease over time in the absolute number in each tenure group and in the total of all tenure groups living in the old core. By 1935 only 158 first generation members remained from the original 720 that lived in Northeast in 1905. One must, therefore, interpret the values with caution, since they not only reflect redistribution within the city, but also deaths and migration outside the city.

The total figures support the immigrants' ladder notion. The total first generation residents in the area

TABLE 5-3
LONGITUDINAL DATA FOR TENURE GROUPS OF 1905
AT SELECTED SUCCESSIVE TIMES

	Tenure in Minnesota in years					
	0-5	>5-10	>10-15	>15-20	>20	Total
In 1905						
Base Number	446	75	121	46	32	720
Number in Old Core	213	24	34	13	0	284
% in Old Core	47.8	32.0	28.1	28.3	0	39.4
Mean Center Coordinates						
N-S	1.499	1.621	1.618	1.638	1.765	1.552
E-W	.038	.130	.134	.146	.294	.082
In 1915						
Remaining Base	177	42	80	32	17	348
Number in Old Core	34	9	12	5	1	61
% in Old Core	19.2	21.4	15.0	15.6	5.9	17.5
Mean Center Coordinates						
N-S	1.780	1.869	1.756	1.754	1.753	1.782
E-W	.123	.085	.103	.199	.085	.119
In 1925						
Remaining Base	142	27	62	25	10	266
Number in Old Core	14	5	7	1	0	27
% in Old Core	9.9	18.5	11.3	4.0	0	10.7
Mean Center Coordinates						
N-S	1.945	1.751	1.899	1.590	1.768	1.874
E-W	.112	.127	.088	.004	.076	.096
In 1935						
Remaining Base	96	20	39	15	3	158
Number in Old Core	9	4	2	0	0	15
% in Old Core	9.4	20.0	5.1	0	0	8.7
Mean Center Coordinates						
N-S	2.028	1.391	1.926	1.383	1.315	1.877
E-W	.069	.179	.140	-.061	.374	.091

of first settlement declined from 284 to 15 by 1935, and their percentage of the total Polish males in Northeast declined from 39.4 to 8.7 in 1935. The North-South coordinate of the mean center during each ten year period also drifted away from the city center and, since the old core is directly north of city hall, away from the old core too. The East-West coordinate showed no significant movement.

Inspection of each tenure group's percentage remaining in the old core over the thirty year span also supports the immigrants' ladder concept, although in a few instances where the absolute numbers of remaining people are very small, the percentages still in the old core increased or the mean center moved closer to the city center. The zero to five and ten to fifteen year groups, the two groups with the highest absolute numbers, adhered strictly to the immigrants' ladder idea. The remaining groups adhered to it while their absolute numbers were high. The decrease in the North-South coordinate by 1935 for the two longest tenured groups perhaps can be explained by the lessening need for space by people in their declining years whose children have left home. By 1935 the minimum age of a person who in 1905 had fifteen or more years in the state was sixty-one (16+15+30) and few people reached these ages. The zero to five year group had its greatest percentage decline and its largest

mean center increase in the 1905-15 period. These figures are in line with an expected heavy space demand as new dependents are added in the early years of marriage.

The longitudinal data reveal the same general trends as the 1905 cross-sectional data. Increasing tenure implies a lessening of concentration in the area of first settlement and a movement of the mean center of the distribution of the first generation males away from the city center.

The dot maps of the various tenure groups in 1905 reveal an aspect of the distribution which cannot be gained from the mean center and the standard distance of the groups' distribution (Table 5-1 and Figures 5-2 to 5-7). The one year or less group finds representation in the old core near the Mississippi, the middle area near Holy Cross Church and in the emerging area around Thirty-first Avenue in the northwest corner of Northeast, which in time would support St. Hedwig's Polish parish. In 1905 the mean center of this group was 1.560 miles north of the city hall and .029 miles east of it (Table 5-1). The group's standard distance was .593 miles. The over twenty year group was located basically in only one of the three major concentrations, the area near Holy Cross Church. This group was not in the old core or in the emerging area near Thirty-first Avenue, despite the fact that its mean center was farther from the city center than the mean

center of the one year or less group. Even within the middle area near Holy Cross, more of the over twenty year group were on the side closest to the old core (Figure 5-7). Relatively more of the one year or less group in this area were on the side farthest from the city center. Lacking the locations in the old core close to the city center and those on the northern edge of the Polish community, the over twenty year group's standard distance was .461 miles compared to the one year or less group's .593 miles. The four groups between the two extreme ones reflect a clinal distributions between them.

There is no apparent contradiction in the cross-sectional data for 1905 which portray a movement of the mean center away from the city's center with increased tenure while also indicating that there are few people with very long tenure on the community's expanding edge. At first one might expect to find the longest tenured groups on the expanding edge, but such a condition would require continued outward expansion of the longest tenured group while the shorter tenured groups follow in trail. Such a condition also requires an explanation for the continued outward expansion with tenure.

Community expansion in the life-cycle urban residential theory is based on the increasing need for living space by young, growing families, although a simple desire for better housing or other reasons may also impel outward

movement. The young families would tend to move to the periphery of the community while their need for more space was the greatest. Biologically, we expect this need to be greatest during the first decade or so of marriage, as it was among the Poles of Northeast (Table 5-4). The greatest increase in the number of dependents of first generation Polish males in Northeast occurred between one and fifteen years after arriving in the state. This sequence would agree with the scenario of a young man arriving, becoming established, getting married or sending for family left behind, raising more children, but then adding fewer as his wife's age increased.

Members of the over twenty year tenure group of 1905 would have arrived before 1885 and would have passed through most of their family building period. Their

TABLE 5-4
AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS PER FIRST GENERATION
POLISH MALE IN NORTHEAST (1905)

Tenure Group	Average Number	Difference
0-1	.38	.54
>1-5	.92	1.40
>5-10	2.32	1.48
>10-15	3.80	.70
>15-20	4.50	.56
>20	5.06	

location in 1905 would probably mark the periphery of the community toward the end of their child-rearing years. Their long tenure would almost have guaranteed their absence from the old core, if that is where they began their Minneapolis residence. We really cannot be sure that all or most of this group started in the old core before 1885 any more than we could predict that most of the one year or less group in 1905 should have been there. We do know that there already were enough Poles in the Holy Cross region to found a parish in the mid-1880's.

As subsequent groups passed through their child rearing years, they too would need more space and seek peripheral locations. Their choice, however, would be limited because the over twenty year group had preceded them and pre-empted some of the housing opportunities on the city's expanding edge. Subsequent groups could move into areas with the over twenty group as vacancies occurred, but some would pass over that group pushing the edge of the community even farther out. Groups passing through their expansionary years are in both interior and peripheral positions, hence the mean centers were still closer to the city center than the longest tenured ones in 1905 while their standard distances were greater.

This scenario suggests the reason for the wide dispersion of the groups passing through their early married years, and it also suggests the reason for the

almost equal dispersion of the one year or less tenure group, which in 1905 would not have entered or would just be entering its family expanding phase. Since this group of first generation males had the lowest average number of dependents (.38 dependents per person), their need for living space would be limited and they would have little reason to be outside the old core. Their distribution was much like the tenure groups which had preceded them into Minneapolis by only ten or so years, however. The maps support my original hypothesis that many of the most recent arrivals would be outside the core because the community had expanded and with it the area from which contacts to potential immigrants would flow. The maps, in fact, go beyond my original idea, suggesting specific tenure categories of people within the first generation that attract new immigrants. I had originally thought that the port of entry would expand with the community. More specifically, the maps suggest that the port of entry follows those people who have been in the community less than fifteen years, which is to say the younger people.

In retrospect, this phenomenon does not seem so strange. An immigrant who has just come over has close ties and sharp recollections of the old country. The friends and relatives he knows best are probably close in age to him and like him are more or less footloose. On the other hand, old country friends of the immigrant who

had been here for over twenty years, even if the contacts have been kept at a high level over those twenty years, would not likely emigrate because their place in life would have been made. Since by definition a first generation male had to be sixteen or more at immigration, and since at least twenty years are added to that, the old country friends of the over twenty year group are already well into middle age.

The chapter began with a summary of the immigrants' ladder concept and the hypothesis that the most recent arrivals would benefit from the experience of the previous immigrants so that their residences would not be confined to the old core of the ethnic area, but would reflect the outward growth of the community. The data supported most aspects of the immigrants' ladder concept. Using both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis, the percentage of first generation individuals in the old core decreased with tenure and the mean center of the distribution moved away from the city's center.

The major departure from the immigrants' ladder concept appears to be the expansion of the area that serves as the port of entry as the ethnic community develops. By 1905 less than half of the most recent immigrants resided in the old core, even though it was defined with more than double the number of blocks of Chmielewski's dimensions. It still was the single most

important concentration of new immigrants, however. This widening of the port of entry seems to be linked to the fact that many new immigrants were attracted by friends who had just preceded them. These friends were in the years when their demand for additional living space for their families was at its greatest.

The locational choices of the people in their family building years in 1905 seem to have been limited by the oldest tenure groups which had pre-empted residences on the expanding housing periphery during the time when their families were growing. The former resided both in the extreme interior (core) and in extreme fringe areas indicating that their group's expansion had not been completed. The group with the longest tenure in 1905 was not in the old core, but since they had largely passed through their family building years, there was no need to be on the expanding edge of the community. Thus, the group with its mean center farthest from the city center is not necessarily the group on the expanding edge. The fact that over 50 percent of the latest arrivals were not in the old core harkens back to Jerebek's finding that, after a time, secondary rural Minnesota Czech communities grew mainly by receiving immigrants from the old country rather than by attracting migrants from other rural Minnesota Czech communities.

CHAPTER VI

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MOBILITY

This chapter investigates the migration of two Polish generations in order to test two hypotheses. These hypotheses stem from the widespread view that first generation immigrants are rather limited in their residential choices by forces outside and within the ethnic community (see discussion in Chapter I). The portrait often painted presents the first generation as a clannish lot which is unwilling or incapable of moving away from the old neighborhood and its attendant close personal ties. The immigrant's continuing decision to remain with his community further increases his time in it, strengthens his bonds with it, and makes a future decision to move away even less likely. The second generation is pictured as the one which begins to break the social bonds of the ethnic community.¹ Seeking to become more assimilated, some of the second generation remove themselves spatially from the community in

¹Simirenko presented a statistical, sociological demonstration of this phenomenon in his Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen. A more poetic, lyrical exposition was given in Rose Mary Prosen's "Looking Back," in Growing Up Slavic in America, Michael Novak ed., (Bayville, New York: An EMPAC! Publication, 1976), pp. 1-8.

conjunction with their psychological removal.

Mobility has several definitional aspects. One is propensity to move/stay and stems from the definition "characterized by frequent or continuous movement."² A second aspect is social and stems from the definition "characterized by the mixing of social groups."³ Here distance and direction indirectly enter into consideration as indicators of the willingness to break old communities and acquire new ones. Although some would question whether a person who moves a long distance is more mobile than one who moves a short distance, the second definition implies greater mobility in so far as greater distances decrease contacts with the old group.

The hypotheses to be tested are; first, that with time's passage, the first generation becomes less mobile, that is to say, its percentage of stayers increases over time while its distance of moves decreases; second, the second generation is more mobile than the first generation in frequency and distance of move.

In this discussion a stayer is one who was at the same address at the beginning and end of each ten-year period and a mover is one who was at a different address at the end of the period. The ratio of the stayers over

²Webster's Third New International Dictionary: Unabridged, (1967), s.v. "mobile."

³Ibid.

the sum of the movers plus the stayers during the given period is a measure of the propensity to stay. Distance figures are the straight line distances of each move in miles. Directional bias of the moves will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Interpretation of the data is subject to several qualifications. First, they reflect only the people whose addresses appeared in the Minneapolis City Directories of 1915, 1925, 1935, and 1945. Losses from the original list of names could have resulted from deaths, migration outside Minneapolis (in a few instances where suburban addresses were given no loss occurred), or simple failure to be recorded. Second, when persons with the same name appeared and differentiation was impossible, they were excluded from the data. Third, the data present information at ten year intervals. The movers may have actually made several moves in the period. Some of the stayers may even have moved away and returned to their original address. Fourth, the data also do not reflect the timing of the move within the ten year period. Fifth, in the tables various tenure groups are presented. These groups reflect the amount of time in Minnesota in 1905, for example, at the beginning of the 1905-15 period and not the time in the state when the move occurred. A person with ten to twenty years in the state who moved in the 1905-15 period may have moved with anywhere from just

over ten years in the state to nearly thirty years. A certain amount of overlapping of time in state and ages was likely.

This comparison of the mobility characteristics of propensity to stay and distance cannot by itself fully answer the question of whether the first generation was less mobile than the second. It will not, after all, consider the entire life spans of the two generations over two continents. It will only consider moves within Minneapolis over forty years. Since all of the first generation males were born in the old country, 100 percent of them have migrated several thousand miles and have moved from a rural to an urban environment in a different national setting. To say that such individuals are less mobile than their sons simply because they do not venture far beyond the place where they first arrived, while their children, who by virtue of skilled or white-collar jobs, may make it into a suburb a few miles away, may be unjustified.⁴ Additionally, percentages of movers or stayers and distance do not treat specific origins or destinations and so do not touch upon whether the person

⁴ This investigation seeks only to determine which generation was definitionally the more mobile without placing a value judgment on mobility. A common American conception is that moving is good. Pierson has cited wide evidence that Americans hold this view and the advantages and disadvantages of such views. George W. Pierson, "The M-Factor in American History," The Quarterly Review XIV (Summer 1962), pp. 275-89.

has moved outside the bounds of the community or has remained in it and just changed location. The results can only be suggestive rather than definitive.

For the first generation two trends are immediately evident (Table 6-1). First, the number of observations decreases as one moves from the upper left corner of the table to its lower right. Movement across and down the table involves the passage of time and with it attrition for several reasons. Death would have to be one of the major causes. By the end of the 1935-45 period, the

TABLE 6-1
FIRST GENERATION PROPENSITY TO STAY

	Tenure in Minnesota in years in 1905				
	0-5	>5-10	>10-20	Over 20	Total
Number in 1905	588	102	192	48	930
Remaining in Minneapolis in 1915					
Number	220	54	124	23	421
Percentage ^a	9.1	14.8	28.2	56.5	18.1
Remaining in 1925					
Number	167	36	96	15	314
Percentage	34.7	38.9	52.1	60.0	41.7
Remaining in 1935					
Number	113	22	59	6	200
Percentage	65.5	45.5	71.2	83.3	65.5
Remaining in 1945					
Number	73	14	26	2	115
Percentage	69.9	85.7	50.0	100.0	67.8

^aPercentage of those remaining who did not move during the previous decade.

minimum age of a person who had over twenty years in the state in 1905 is seventy-six (16+20+40). It is little wonder that only two individuals made it to this age. For this reason some of the tenure groups have been combined. Not much credence can be given to percentages based on two, six, fourteen or even twenty observations.

Second, there is a very large decrease in the number of people remaining after the 1905-15 period among the zero to five year age category. Only 220 (37.4 percent) of the 588 present in 1905 were around in 1915. During the same period the other tenure groups had greater retention rates. The loss among the zero to five year group is probably due to the migration to places outside Minneapolis as the new arrivals evaluated Minneapolis' opportunities against those in other places. This phenomenon is in accord with the immigrants' ladder concept and the life-cycle idea which suggest that most migrations will occur at the younger ages. A person who has already been in Minneapolis for five years is less likely to leave than one with less than one year. In fact, 52.9 percent of the five to ten year group in 1905 were still in the city in 1915.

The cross-sectional data for the first period, 1905-15, show an expected increase in the percentage of stayers from one tenure group to the next from a low of 9.1 percent to a high of 56.5 for the over twenty year

group. Since only one person in the over twenty group also had over thirty years, it is unlikely that many of this group would by 1915 be entering their retirement years, a period which normally occasions an increase in mobility as the elderly become too old to care for themselves and move in with their children.

The second period portrays essentially the same picture as the first. There is an increase in the percentage of stayers with increased tenure, although by 1925 the group which had over twenty years in 1905 then had over forty years and the group's observation base had dropped to only fifteen, a fairly small number on which to base percentages.

The longitudinal data for the zero to five and five to ten year groups also display an increased tendency towards residential stability over time with percentage increases during each succeeding period. For the five to ten year group, however, the remaining observation base has dropped rather low by 1935. By 1945 one might expect a decrease in stability for the five to ten year group as it hits the retirement age, but 85.7 percent of the remaining fourteen showed residential stability during the 1935-45 period. A decrease, from 71.2 to 50.0 percent, after initial increases in the longitudinal series for the ten to twenty year group occurred. The observation base for the group having over twenty years in 1905 is too

scanty to put much reliance on.

Overall, the trend of less mobility with increased tenure for the groups which are in their working years does appear to have been confirmed using cross-sectional and longitudinal data. This lessening of mobility, at least in so far as moving versus staying is concerned, is predicted by the life-cycle theory.

The groups which would be reaching retirement age at some point during the forty year period display a rather mixed picture with some having increased mobility. These groups, however, have low observation bases upon which to make interpretations.

The second hypothesis is that as tenure increases, the distance of moves will decrease. This hypothesis is based on the supposition that the longer an individual is in the community, the stronger will be his social ties with it. Since distance makes regular social contacts more difficult, old timers in the community would want to keep their distance to their social center at a minimum.

Unlike the clear trend of decreased propensity to move with increased tenure, there was no clear relationship between the average distance moved and tenure from 1905 to 1945 among the first generation (Table 6-2). The average distance values vary without any distinctive pattern in both the table's rows of columns. Certainly the low number of observations contribute to this

TABLE 6-2
AVERAGE DISTANCE OF FIRST GENERATION MOVES
(IN MILES) 1905-45

	Tenure in Minnesota in years in 1905				
	0-5	>5-10	>10-20	Over 20	Total
From 1905 to 1915					
Average	.84	.84	.61	1.00	.78
Number	200	46	89	10	345
Standard Deviation					.78
From 1915 to 1925					
Average	.91	.96	.83	1.29	.91
Number	109	22	46	6	83
Standard Deviation					1.01
From 1925 to 1935					
Average	.80	1.16	.73	.59	.84
Number	39	12	17	1	69
Standard Deviation					.93
From 1935 to 1945					
Average	.76	.04	1.40	-	.95
Number	22	2	13	-	37
Standard Deviation					1.12

confusion, but there are enough instances for some trend to be apparent, if only in the total figures. For the combined total of all groups, there was an increase from .78 miles for the 1905-15 period to .95 miles for the 1935-45 period with a reversal during the 1925-35 period to .84 miles. The trend of the standard deviation of all groups during the 1905-1945 time frame is similar to that of the average distance trend with a decrease from 1925-35. The cause of the dip from 1925-35 is not known, but it possibly may have resulted from a slow down in the

number of new housing opportunities. The worst years of the Great Depression are included in the decade of the reversal. The overall trend, however, is up over the forty years. My hypothesis predicted decreases.

If it were known exactly when the moves took place, a regression analysis could be done between tenure and move distance. We have, however, data concerning tenure at the beginning of each ten year period and the distances between residences at the beginning and end of that period. The correlation coefficient between tenure at the beginning of the period and the distance of move in the 1905-15 period is -.10 with a significance level of less than .026. The interpretation is clear. We can be quite certain that there is no significant relationship between tenure in 1905 and the distances between a mover's residence in 1905 and 1915. Truly, this is not saying much! This statement does not mean that there is no relationship between tenure at the time of move and the move distance.

The average move distance was small (Table 6-2). It hovered at just under one mile throughout the forty years. During the 1905-15 period, the period having the highest percentage of movers vis-a-vis stayers the average of 345 moves was .78 miles and the standard deviation was .78 miles (Table 6-1). Just over two-thirds of the moves were between zero and 1.56 miles. Only nineteen of the 345

moves were over two miles. A few dimensions around the city puts these low averages in perspective. Minneapolis measured about ten miles in its north-south dimension and about six in its east-west. Northeast Minneapolis measured about three and a half miles square. From the old Polish core to Thirty-first Avenue is just over two miles. On the basis of distance, without regard to direction, specific origin or destination, it appears that most of the first generation moves could have well taken place within the community. The first generation Poles in Minneapolis, as Simirenko had found for Northeast's Russians, stuck close to their own kind even when they did move. A person could move one mile and still be within easy walking distance of most institutions with which he sought communion.

The fact that average distances were so small may help to explain why no definite trends between tenure and distance were found for the first generation. Distances may not yet have become great enough to have an impact on the number of social contacts. The housing opportunities within a distance which allowed all the contacts desired may have met the demand. Up to now the discussion of tenure and distance has not dealt with specific origins or specific destinations. If the various tenure groups of the first generation were competing for the same residences in any given period, distance need not have

decreased with increased tenure simply because the groups did not share the same origins. Whatever the reason, the data do not support the hypothesis that distance moved by Minneapolis' first generation Poles decreased with tenure.

The next major hypotheses compared the first and second generations. Does the second generation change residences more often within the city and do they move a greater distance than the first generation? Simirenko's findings that the second generation is split between persons wanting to remain within the community and those wishing to depart socially and geographically might imply that second generation moves would be more frequent and of greater average distance than the first generation's.

A first generation member has been defined as one who was born overseas and arrived in Minnesota at an age of sixteen or more. The second generation was defined as those born in the United States or born overseas, but had arrived in Minnesota before becoming twelve. These latter individuals would have had associations for least four years (ages eleven through fifteen) with friends who had been born in America. It is assumed that the foreign-born who came to Minnesota before age twelve would be more like the second generation than the first. When the investigation began, it was thought that foreign-born individuals who arrived in Minnesota between ages twelve and fifteen might form a middle generation which was

transitional between the first and second generations. Only thirty-five of 1,785 persons fell into this category, however, and only nineteen were left in Minneapolis in 1915. Rather than reserve a special category for such a small number or to divide them between the first and second generations by means of a sharp cut-off (say between ages thirteen and fourteen), I omitted them entirely from consideration when comparing the first and second generations. They were included when all Polish males were considered without reference to generation, however. No allowance was made for third generation individuals since only nine of the 1,785 males present in 1905 had fathers, who like they, had been born in the United States. These nine were omitted.

In the comparative tables, tenure in state was abandoned in favor of age categories at the beginning of each ten-year period. It is inappropriate to use tenure to compare native and foreign-born people. A two-year-old Minnesota-born babe, after all, has just as much tenure as a twenty-five year old man who arrived at age twenty-three. Consideration of age allowed some elaboration of the trends for the first generation and a limited number of longitudinal inter-generation comparisons which would not have been possible using tenure. Dividing the four tenure groups into seven age categories, however, necessarily lessened the numerical base for percentages.

The age category trends support the data derived for tenure groups. Cross-sectional (within ten-year periods) data for the first generation indicate an increased percentage of stayers as age increased from early adulthood through late middle-age (Table 6-3). In the advanced years, as predicted by the life-cycle theory, mobility in a few instances increased, probably reflecting the movement of old people in their declining years into their children's homes. Percentage figures for these years vary widely because so few people lived to these ages.

The same trend in early adulthood existed for the second generation (Table 6-3) as for the first. The zero to five-year and six to fifteen-year groups, of course, do not exist for the first generation. These two second generation groups, whose members' residences do not entirely reflect their own choice, have slightly higher stayer percentages in the 1905-15 and 1915-25 periods than the second generation groups in their early adult years. These two youngest age groups also during the first two ten-year periods had percentages close to the middle-aged groups of those periods, the groups among which their fathers would be.

The two generations may be compared in several ways. First, the total values of all first generation individuals may be compared to all second generation

people in each period (hereafter called Comparison 1). Second, within each period the two generations within given age categories, for example, those in the sixteen to forty-five year age groups, may be compared (Comparison 2). This comparison would be between first generation immigrants and the sons of first generation people who preceded them, and not their own sons. Third, the first generation within the first period can be compared with the second generation within those same age categories, but two or three decades later (Comparison 3). In this comparison, first generation individuals are compared to their offspring at similar life stages.

In Comparison 1, the total percentage of stayers for the first generation rises from 18.1 to 41.7 to 65.5 to 67.8 percent during the forty years while the second generation's rises from 21.9 to 35.1 to 40.8 to 47.3 (Table 6-3). In each period except the first, the second generation has a lower percentage of stayers than the first. The second generation's percentage is lower in the last three periods because it has a large number of individuals in the early adult years of sixteen to thirty-five, when according to the life-cycle theory, migration should be greatest. In the first period the first generation's low percentage of 18.1 was achieved largely on the strength of the large number of individuals in these same age groups, which had very low percentages

TABLE 6-3

GENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF STAYERS

From 1905 to 1915

Age at start	0-5	6-15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	Total
<i>First Generation</i>										
Number ^a	-	-	63	188	129	32	6	2	1	421
Percentage ^b	-	-	11.1	11.7	23.3	34.4	66.7	100.0	0	18.1
<i>Second Generation</i>										
Number	234	211	53	26	14	1	-	-	-	539
Percentage	20.1	23.7	15.1	26.9	42.9	0	-	-	-	21.9

From 1915 to 1925

Age at start	6-15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	Total
<i>First Generation</i>										
Number	-	-	51	134	101	23	4	1	-	314
Percentage	-	-	21.6	44.0	46.5	47.8	50.0	100.0	-	41.7
<i>Second Generation</i>										
Number	161	123	41	24	15	1	-	-	-	365
Percentage	38.9	22.4	17.1	50.0	53.3	100.0	-	-	-	35.1

From 1925 to 1935

Age at start	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	-	Total
<i>First Generation</i>										
Number	-	-	36	95	61	7	1	-	-	200
Percentage	-	-	61.1	69.5	59.0	85.7	100.0	-	-	65.5
<i>Second Generation</i>										
Number	128	101	21	15	7	-	-	-	-	272
Percentage	38.3	37.6	52.4	53.3	71.4	-	-	-	-	40.8

From 1935 to 1945

Age at start	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	-	-	Total
<i>First Generation</i>										
Number	-	-	25	62	23	5	-	-	-	115
Percentage	-	-	76.0	67.7	60.9	60.0	-	-	-	67.8
<i>Second Generation</i>										
Number	97	79	17	12	2	-	-	-	-	207
Percentage	41.2	51.9	64.7	41.7	50.0	-	-	-	-	47.3

^aNumber of people remaining in Minneapolis at end of ten-year period.

^bPercentage of those remaining who did not move during the period.

(just over eleven percent) of stayers. In fact, from 1905 to 1915, the two first generation groups between sixteen and thirty-five years accounted for 59.6 percent of that generation's strength $[(63+188)/421]$ whereas these two age groups accounted for only 14.7 percent of the second generation's number $[(53+26)/539]$. The bulk of the second generation's strength during the first period was in the zero to fifteen-year age groups. The percentages of the zero to fifteen year age groups probably do not reflect their own residential choices, but their fathers'. In the second period, 1915-25, the two age groups between sixteen and thirty-five account for only 16.2 percent (51/314) of first generation people, but 44.9 percent $[(123+41)/365]$ of second generation individuals. In the third and fourth periods, of course, there were no first generation males in the sixteen to thirty-five age categories, but in the third period 84.2 percent $[(128+101)/272]$ of the second generation was in these two age groups and, in the fourth period, the percentage dropped to 46.9 (97/207). The greatest percentage differences between the two generations occurred in the third period when the first generation had 65.5 percent stayers and the second generation had 40.8 percent. It was this period in which the second generation was predominantly in the sixteen to thirty-five year groups (84.2 percent) while the first generation had no one in these groups.

Considering total percentages over the four periods, the generation having the largest portion in the early adult years was the one which was most mobile in terms of moving or staying put, but the changing relative numbers in these age groups allowed the first generation to be most mobile in the first period and the second generation in the last three.

Comparison 2 was between first and second generation individuals between the ages of sixteen and forty-five years within each period, essentially first generation immigrants against the offspring of previous immigrants. In this comparison the ages of the two generations and the time period (and hence socioeconomic conditions) are the same, but each generation's background is different. The second generation was born in the United States or arrived before age twelve whereas the first generation was born overseas and arrived after their sixteenth birthday. Not all age categories are suitable for this comparison. In 1905 by definition there were no first generation males less than sixteen and there was only one second generation member over forty-five years old, leaving only the three age categories which were between sixteen and forty-five (Table 6-4).

First, there is increased stability with increased age (Table 6-4). Second, the total percentage figures in each period for the generations are close, reaching a

TABLE 6-4
 GENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF STAYERS
 AMONG THE SIXTEEN TO FORTY-FIVE YEAR AGE CATEGORIES
 (COMPARISON 2)

	First Generation Percentage	Number	Second Generation Percentage	Number
1905-15	15.5	380	22.6	93
1915-25	40.9	286	33.8	80
1925-35	64.6	192	55.8	43
1935-45	68.2	110	54.8	31

maximum differential of 13.4 percent in the last period. Third, in the first period the first generation was actually more mobile than the second. In the first period in each of the three age groups, the first generation is more mobile than the second, but in the final period, 1935-45, each of the three second generation ten-year groups was more mobile than its first generation counterpart (Table 6-3). In the two middle periods there is a mixture. Why was the first generation more mobile? The life-cycle theory is of little use here because we are considering similar age groups within each period. A possible explanation might be supplied by the immigrants' ladder concept. Many of the younger first generation were still at a stage when employment was rather tenuous and when residential adjustments were at their greatest in the

years immediately following immigration. Perhaps some of the second generation in these age categories from 1905 to 1915 were still living with their fathers.

In Comparison 3, the first generation in four age groups in 1905 are compared to the second generation twenty or thirty years later. Fathers are compared with their sons at similar life stages. Although the age categories are the same, the time periods are not, so each generation in this comparison was confronted with different socioeconomic conditions. The percentages of stayers for the first generation in the four ten-year age groups from sixteen to fifty-five in the 1905-15 period were 11.1, 11.7, 23.3 and 34.4 percent respectively. In the 1925-35 period the second generation had stayer percentages of 38.3, 37.6, 52.4 and 53.3 respectively. For the 1935-45 period there was no sixteen to twenty-five year group, but the remaining three groups had 41.2, 51.9 and 64.7 percent respectively. The first generation members were more mobile from 1905 to 1915 than their sons were from 1925 to 1945 when they were at similar life stages. The second generation in these same age categories during the 1905-15 period were also more mobile than the second generation from 1925 to 1945. These facts raise the question of whether the Polish community could have been much more mobile in the 1905-15 period than in subsequent ones.

Numerous reasons exist why this might have been so. The population of Minneapolis rose by 87.7 percent between 1900 and 1920 from 202,718 to 380,582. From 1920 to 1940 its population grew by only 29.4 percent.⁵ This population increase affected residential building. Adams' map of average residential age indicates a rapid expansion between 1900 and 1920, but a much slower expansion from 1920 to 1940.⁶ Some of the population growth from 1900 to 1920 resulted from foreign immigration. The years before the First World War were the last years of the great peasant migration from Europe. The ethnic communities of Northeast were receiving their last large influx before war and migration laws would bring it to a halt.

The active development of 1905-15 may have continued into the early 1920s. The percentage of stayers in the sixteen to thirty-five year groups during the 1915-25 period is almost as low as those in the 1905-15 period, but jumps dramatically during the 1925-35 period into the high thirty's (38.3 and 37.6). Certainly part of the increase was because of the depression. The final period, 1935-45, although marked by war, did not see an increase in mobility among the people in the study because by 1941

⁵U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants, p. 32.

⁶Adams, p. 321.

they were too old to have participated in the war.

In each comparison, the first generation could be more mobile than the second. When total values for all age categories were considered, variations of age distribution allowed the first generation to be more mobile. When age and time period were held constant, the first and second generations had nearly the same percentages and, in one period, the first generation was more mobile. In the final comparison, first generation versus their children, the first generation was actually much more mobile than the second. In this one dimension of mobility, moving within the city, it cannot be stated in any unqualified manner that the second generation was more mobile than the first.

The same three types of inter-generational comparisons were made for average distance that were made for propensity to move/stay. The first generation displayed no clear trends in average distance moved using cross-sectional or longitudinal data (Tables 6-2 or 6-5). There had actually been a decrease during the depression years. The cross-sectional and longitudinal data for the second generation are also quite uneven with no clear trends, except in total figures (Table 6-5). Here the trend during the four decades was one of continued, if uneven, increase. The average distance moved rose from .79 to 1.12 to 1.22 to 1.34 miles in the four decades with

TABLE 6-5
GENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF AVERAGE DISTANCE MOVED

From 1905 to 1915										
Age at start	0-5	6-15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	Total
First Generation										
Distance ^a	-	-	.92	.80	.70	.86	.30	-	.28	.78
Number ^b	-	-	56	166	99	21	2	-	1	345
Second Generation										
Distance	.77	.81	.75	.90	.81	.07	-	-	-	.79
Number	187	161	45	19	8	1	-	-	-	421
From 1915 to 1925										
Age at start	6-15	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	Total
First Generation										
Distance	-	-	1.03	.81	.94	.99	.88	-	-	.91
Number	-	-	40	75	54	12	2	-	-	183
Second Generation										
Distance	.98	1.17	1.15	1.64	1.27	-	-	-	-	1.12
Number	97	87	34	12	7	-	-	-	-	237
From 1925 to 1935										
Age at start	16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	-	Total
First Generation										
Distance	-	-	1.00	.57	1.05	.68	-	-	-	.84
Number	-	-	14	29	25	1	-	-	-	69
Second Generation										
Distance	1.40	1.02	.87	1.57	.61	-	-	-	-	1.22
Number	79	63	10	7	2	-	-	-	-	161
From 1935 to 1945										
Age at start	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>75	-	-	-	Total
First Generation										
Distance	-	-	.37	.97	1.05	1.87	-	-	-	.95
Number	-	-	6	20	9	2	-	-	-	37
Second Generation										
Distance	1.48	1.13	1.46	1.42	.09	-	-	-	-	1.34
Number	57	38	6	7	1	-	-	-	-	1.09

^aAverage distance moved in miles.

^bNumber of movers.

the smallest increase (between 1.12 and 1.22) coming in the decade of the depression.

In Comparison 1, the second generation's values were higher than the first's in all four periods. The difference between the generations increased with each period from .01 miles in 1905-15 to .39 miles in the last period. No specific age consistently had the highest or lowest average move distances in either generation.

In Comparison 2, as the age group between sixteen and twenty-five years old in 1905 moved through the four decades, the first generation moved farther than the second in two periods and less far than the second in two. In the twenty-six to thirty-five category, the second generation moved farther than the first in every period. In the summation of the two age groups, the second generation moved farther than the first in three of the four decades.

In the third comparison, the first generation's 1905-15 values of .92, .80, .70 and .86 miles are substantially below the second generation's values of 1.40, 1.02, .87 and 1.57 miles in the 1925-35 period and its values of 1.48, 1.13 and 1.46 miles in the 1935-45 period.

Comparisons 1 and 3 strongly support the contention that the second generation members move farther than the first generation. The second comparison also favored this

conclusion. These facts find easy accommodation within Simirenko's framework that the second generation was split between those who wanted to leave and those who wanted to remain within the community. Obviously, if some of the second generation made crosstown moves to leave the ethnic community, their moves might very well have been of greater distance and raised the average for their generation. The fact of higher second generation move distances allows for, rather than confirms, Simirenko's concept. It is quite possible that as time passed, the city's and the ethnic community's growth necessitated longer moves. Quite likely both processes were at work.

This chapter began with a discussion of the common view that the first generation was a less mobile group than the second. The analysis centered on only two aspects of mobility, propensity to move/stay and average distance of moves, and tested the hypotheses that first generation moves would become less frequent and shorter as time after arrival increased and that second generation moves would be more frequent and of greater distance than first generation moves.

The investigation could not fully answer the question of whether the second generation was more mobile than the first because only two limited aspects were considered. Direction, specific origins, and destinations, were omitted. The data covered only movers or

non-movers over forty years within the Minneapolis city limits. Multiple moves and timing within each of the four decades received no attention.

The hypothesis that the first generation would have an increased propensity to stay as time passed was supported whether tenure in state or age were considered. The second hypothesis, that as tenure increased first generation move distance would decrease, found no support. Average move distance was actually higher in the fourth period than it was in the first. The only decrease occurred during the depression years.

Three methods of comparison were used to evaluate the hypothesis that the first generation members changed their residence more frequently than the second. Although in two of the three methods some supporting evidence was found for the proposition, under certain circumstances the first generation was more mobile than the second. In the third comparison the first generation was definitely more mobile than the second. Because of varying age distributions within the generations over time, the differing experiences of the two generations at various stages of their lives and the fact that some periods may have aided or hindered mobility, it is not possible to accept without qualification the hypothesis that the second generation changes residence more frequently than the first, which is another way of saying that inter-generational differences

are not the only, or even the most important, factor in frequency of moves.

The fourth hypothesis, that the second generation moves farther than the first, received substantial support, although the data could reflect either the second generation's division, as Simirenko suggested, the growth of the ethnic community as part of the total city growth, or a combination of these reasons.

CHAPTER VII

DIRECTIONAL MOBILITY CHARACTERISTICS:

SPECIFIC ORIGINS AND GROUPS

Chapter 6 began the investigation of the mobility of the Polish ethnic community in Minneapolis. Propensity to move/stay and distance were considered without reference to the location within Minneapolis or the direction of the move. This chapter treats these two elements. Polish directional bias is described in total and on a generational basis and is compared to the movement of other ethnic groups. Group movement is also compared to that predicted by Adams' and Simirenko's schemes.

Adams reasoned that urban dwellers had quite limited knowledge of their cities. They had sharp mental images of their immediate neighborhoods, the downtown region, and the route between the two (Figure 7-1). A person's movement field was directed to the areas which were in sharpest focus. These very movements further sharpened the images. Movement and image confined one another "in a circular pattern of reinforcement."¹

Two places in Adams' scheme have pre-eminence; the

¹Adams, "Directional Bias," p. 302.

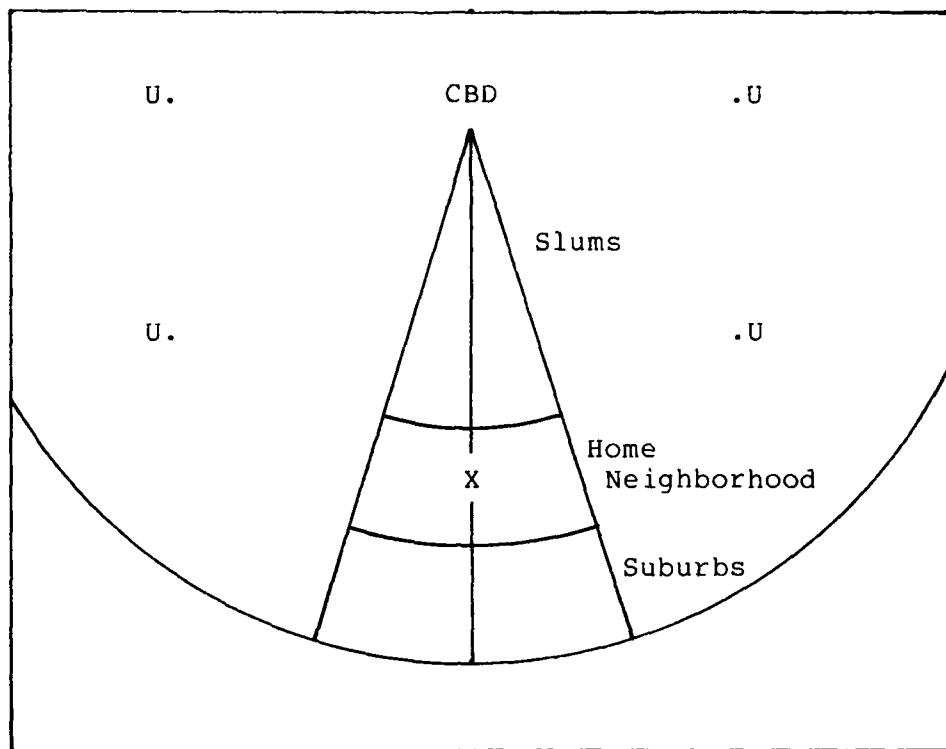


FIGURE 7-1 Wedge-shaped Mental Maps. According to Adams, moves will fall within a narrow sector around the line from the central business district (CBD) to the mover's old residence. Moves to Points U are unlikely because the mover is unaware of them.

person's neighborhood and the downtown. The downtown was important as the locus of alleged frequent trips to shop, to work, or to process governmental paperwork such as various types of licenses. The city center was the only point which all residents had in common, and was, in this sense universal to all. It was the common center of every resident's mental map and, since intra-urban migration was controlled by the images, it was also the reference for

all migrations.

Individual migrations were radial away from or into the center. Migrants found new residences within a narrow wedge-shaped sector bounding the line from the downtown to the old residence. Moves to places outside the sector (Figure 7-1) were unlikely because these areas were "fuzzy or absent" from the mover's mental maps and were, therefore, "irrelevant to him."²

Adams relied heavily on Rossi's study concerning the mover's decision-making process. Rossi concluded that lower class people tended to be fairly conservative and easily pleased in their search for new housing. Most did not shop for an optimal situation. Rossi also concluded that lower class people tend to rely on the informal networks of friends and relatives much more than on formal sources for information about housing opportunities.³ Both Rossi and Adams viewed mobility as a mechanism by which family housing characteristics were brought into adjustment with family housing needs. The housing supply, therefore, had a tremendous impact on the direction of migration. Since most cities had concentric rings of varying housing quality and migration implied a dissatisfaction with present housing, Adams argued that few moves would be lateral, since housing in the same ring

² Ibid., p. 305.

³ Ibid., pp. 311-12.

is similar to what the migrant already occupies. Many moves would be inward or outward.⁴

Several criticisms can be made of Adams' work. Among the most important is its implicit assumption that human beings are no more than individual, impersonal atoms obeying some universal natural law. In his scheme the mover is viewed as a rationally economic man intent upon optimizing his space requirements. The house is viewed only in so far as it satisfies or does not satisfy the mover's housing needs, not whether it is close to friends, relatives, churches, or other institutions. The mover operates in a milieu containing only city center, home neighborhood, transportation routes, and differential housing quality.

Adams made a deliberate attempt to nullify the effects of the networks of friendship circles, lumped under the rubric of ethnicity, which Greeley and others had stated were so important. He drew samples from the K section of the Minneapolis City Directory "because this was the first letter of the alphabet for which pronounced ethnic bias was not apparent."⁵

This omission seems strange for two reasons. First, he had just cited Rossi's conclusion that people rely heavily on informal networks of friends and relatives,

⁴Ibid., p. 312.

⁵Ibid., pp. 312-13.

networks found within ethnic groups. Instead of focusing on relative networks, he emphasized the relative location of home and downtown. Second, in the period of his first sample, 1890-95, nearly seventy percent of Minneapolis' population was either foreign-born or children of the foreign-born. In his second period, 1920-25, between sixty and sixty-five percent were in this category. Adams, then, made no allowance for ethnicity or the interplay between ethnic groups despite the fact that the foreign stock category composed about two-thirds of the Minneapolis population in his first two periods.⁶ Indeed, even in his third period, 1945-50, the foreign stock portion was just below half of the city's population.

Perhaps Adams can be credited with trying to avoid the bias which may have been introduced if the moves of one group were significantly different from the entire population and that group composed a disproportionate share of his sample. The selection of a single letter, however, raises other questions. Did the author's selection fulfill his intentions? Is there any letter or letters among which all groups are found in equal proportion to their strength in the total population? Second, and more specifically, did the selection of the chosen letter, K, achieve an unbiased sample?

⁶ Calvin F. Schmidt, Social Saga of Two Cities, (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Council of Social Sciences, 1937), p. 130.

A second major criticism of Adams' work is the importance of the center and the system of radiating transportation lines in the lives of the urban populace. Even if we disregard the possibility of the multiple nuclei city and assume Minneapolis had a single center, we are still not assured that all groups will depend upon that center to the same degree. Adams cited the center as the locus of employment, shopping, and governmental activity. I have found no evidence in the literature or my own research which suggests that the Slavic groups in Northeast found employment in the city center. Indeed, the preponderance of the evidence suggests that the Slavs were attracted to Northeast because it did generate the unskilled jobs for which they could qualify. The question is whether all groups, even those who do not have frequent contact with the center, will have wedge-shaped mental maps of the city focused on the center.

Several obvious implications for ethnic groups follow from Adams' scheme. First, regardless of ethnic affiliation, people living close together will have similar destinations within the predicted wedge-shaped territory of the movers' mental maps when they migrate within the city.⁷ These similar wedged-shaped patterns would follow whether one views humans as atomic

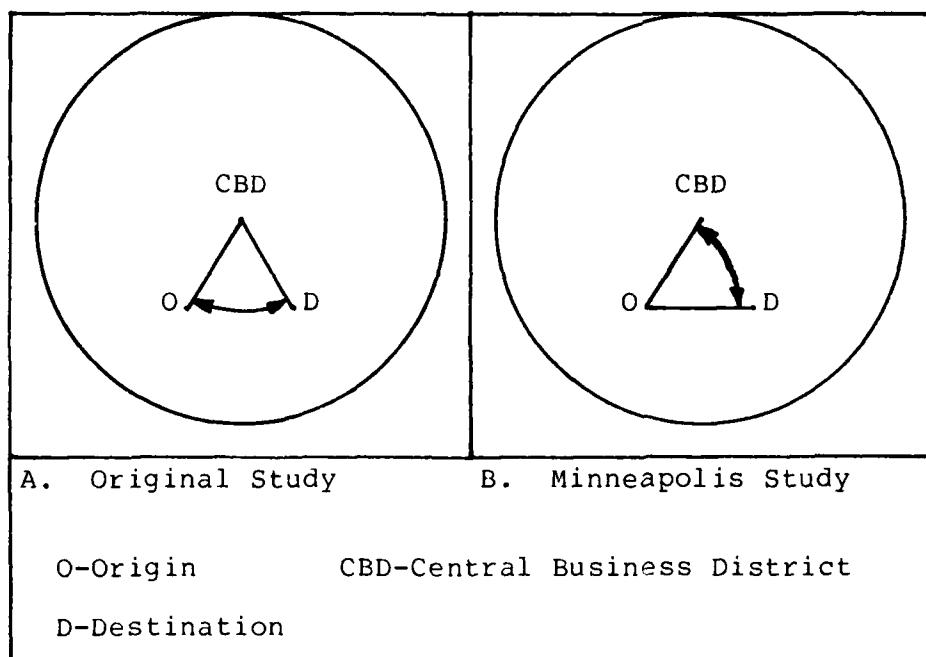
⁷ Professor Adams conveyed this statement to me in a personal conversation.

individuals or as members of networks. If Adams did not really mean to portray people only as individuals, but did think of them as group members, then a further implication must follow, that, among all groups living in close proximity, the spatial content of the messages concerning housing opportunities is essentially the same, whether the groups still speak their native tongues or have adopted the host country's language. Second, members of the same group who live on opposite sides of the city's center will have dissimilar destinations. Here the destination patterns would be wedge-shaped, but oriented in opposite directions.

A final criticism of Adams' work is methodological, dealing with the way in which he measured move angles. His methods were ambiguous. In a preliminary study, cited in his article, he measured the move angle as that formed by two lines running, respectively, from the city center to the person's original residence and from the center to the person's destination (Figure 7-2).⁸ Using this method the city center is clearly at the apex of the angle, as it should be if one is attempting to measure sector specific movements. For some unexplained reason he changed his measurement method in his three Minneapolis samples. The angle measured became that formed by lines running between the center and the original residence and between the

⁸Adams, "Directional Bias," p. 308.

FIGURE 7-2 Adams' Measured Move Angles



origin and destination. Using this method the apex of the angle is the original residence, not the center of the city! The angle measured does not necessarily give any indication of whether or not the destination falls within the predicted wedge-shaped sector.⁹ Small angle moves, indicating a move toward the center, may terminate within the sector, but might also terminate past the center on the opposite side of town. Moves near ninety degrees, which Adams predicted would be few since "people move to acquire different housing rather than similar housing," could terminate within the sector if they were very short,

⁹ Ibid., p. 313.

but would terminate outside the sector if they were long.¹⁰ A question of the validity of his finding that most moves should be near zero or 180 degrees can certainly be raised.

With this background on the Adams' scheme, the analysis of Polish mobility may continue. Three major questions were investigated. First, did Poles in Northeast display sectoral preferences? Second, did Poles in other parts of the city display sectoral preferences? Third, did members of other groups living close to the Poles display similar destination patterns?

Two methods were developed to answer these questions. The first was to measure the angular distance, measured at the city center, as Adams had done in his original study, between the origin and destination. The second was to plot maps of moves from various specific origins. Each had advantages over the other.

The move angles were measured for all known Polish moves in the years from 1905 to 1915. These measured move angles were then compared with the limits of the sector to determine whether or not the move falls within it. But how big is a sector? Adams did not say! He did remark that they were "narrow."¹¹ He noted in his preliminary study that a full third of the move angles fell within ten

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 312.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 323.

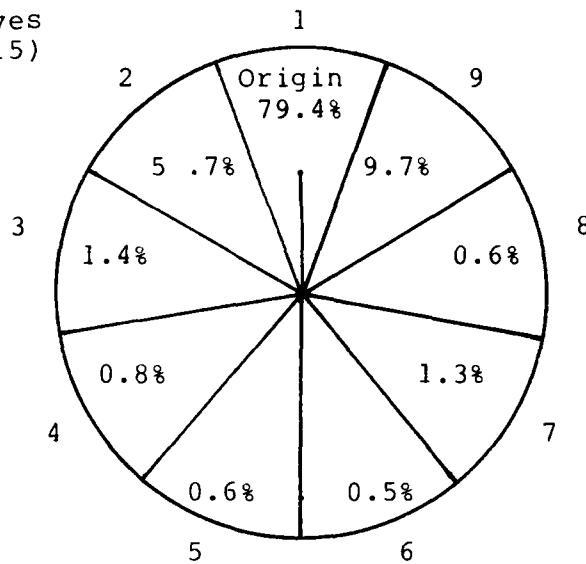
degrees of the original home.¹² His depicted wedge lies within 15.5 degrees on either side of the line from center to origin.¹³ With this limited guidance, a sector of twenty degrees to either side of the center-origin line was used. If the destination were within this forty-degree sector, the move was deemed sector specific. The actual computations were done by a computer which calculated the angular distance of each origin and destination from their coordinates, calculated the angular distance between the two, and classified each move into one of nine forty-degree sectors (360 degrees) around the origin.

The vast majority (79.4 percent) of the 785 Polish moves between 1905 and 1915 fell within Sector 1 (Figure 7-3). The next highest sectors were those on either side of Sector 1. The destinations of 94.8 of these moves were within sixty degrees of the origin.

Although nearly eighty percent of the moves fell within twenty degrees of the origin for all Polish Minneapolis moves, quite a different picture emerges when moves from various areas of the city are considered separately (Table 7-1). By rotating the sector wheel so that the origin line (zero degrees) coincided with the bulk of the Poles in each ward, the angular bias of each

¹²Ibid., p. 308.

¹³Ibid., p. 305.

FIGURE 7-3 Polish Moves
By Sector (1905-1915)TABLE 7-1
POLISH INTRA-URBAN MOVES: MINNEAPOLIS 1905-15

Origin	Moves	Within 40° Sector Number	Within 40° Sector Percentage	Polish Destination Number	Polish Destination Percentage
Northeast					
Ward 1	563	502	89.2	552	98.0
Ward 9	90	64	71.1	82	91.1
NE Total	653	566	86.7	634	97.1
North					
Ward 3	71	35	49.3	70	98.6
Ward 10	30	20	66.7	27	90.0
N Total	101	55	54.4	97	96.0
South and Southeast					
Ward 2	1	0	0.0	1	100.0
Ward 4	8	2	25.0	6	75.0
Ward 5	5	0	0.0	2	40.0
Ward 6	10	0	0.0	9	90.0
Ward 7	-	-	-	-	-
Ward 8	-	-	-	-	-
Ward 11	-	-	-	-	-
Ward 12	7	0	0.0	2	28.6
Ward 13	-	-	-	-	-
S Total	31	2	6.5	20	64.5
Minneapolis Total					
	785	623	79.4	751	95.7

ward's moves was examined.

Moves which had their origins within Northeast, Wards 1 and 9, were overwhelmingly (86.7 percent) within the forty-degree sector. Some Polish destinations did not fall within the forty-degree sector, however. Most Poles of Northeast lived in Ward 1 and on the western edge of Ward 9 (Figure 3-12). Although these three major clusters, the old core, the Holy Cross area and the Thirtieth-Marshall Avenues area, were within a small angular distance in Ward 1, Polish moves from Ward 1 to North Minneapolis and to the Dogtown area of Ward 9 would not fall within the forty-degree sector. The addition of the moves to these two areas to those within the forty-degree sector bring the total of moves from Northeast to Polish destinations to 634 or 94.1 percent of the Polish moves from Northeast origins.

Polish moves in the 1905-15 period from North Minneapolis, Wards 3 and 10, are more revealing (Table 7-1). Fifty-five of the 101 moves from these two wards terminated within a forty-degree sector, but forty-two ended within the next forty-degree sector to the east, the sector overlying Northeast. Combined North and Northeast destinations accounted for ninety-six percent of North's Polish moves.

Polish moves from the southern wards had a distinctly unsector-like pattern (Table 7-1). Only two of

the thirty-one moves were within the narrow wedge, but twenty (64.5 percent) were to Northeast, on the opposite side of the city from their origins.

What is the lesson learned from this sector analysis? We started with the question of whether Adams' sector notion or some flow of information between group members better described the movement of Poles. In a very real sense it was a question of whether society is composed of atoms operating by some universal law or of networks of relationships as specified by Novak, Greeley, and others. It was Adams' atoms against Novak's networks! Although the input to this sector analysis was in terms of precise locations, the output was in angular distance. Even though nearly eighty percent of the Polish moves between 1905 and 1915 fell within a forty-degree sector, over ninety-five percent were within sectors containing Polish concentrations in 1905 (Figure 3-7 and Table 7-1). The percentage of moves from all three areas to Polish destinations exceeded those within the forty-degree sector. In Northeast the correspondence of percentages between the values for the forty-degree sector and Polish destinations was closest. In North Minneapolis the sector concept accounted for only about half the Polish moves, a nearly equal percentage being accounted for by the sector overlying Northeast. Only 6.5 percent of the moves from southern wards could be described as sector-like and over

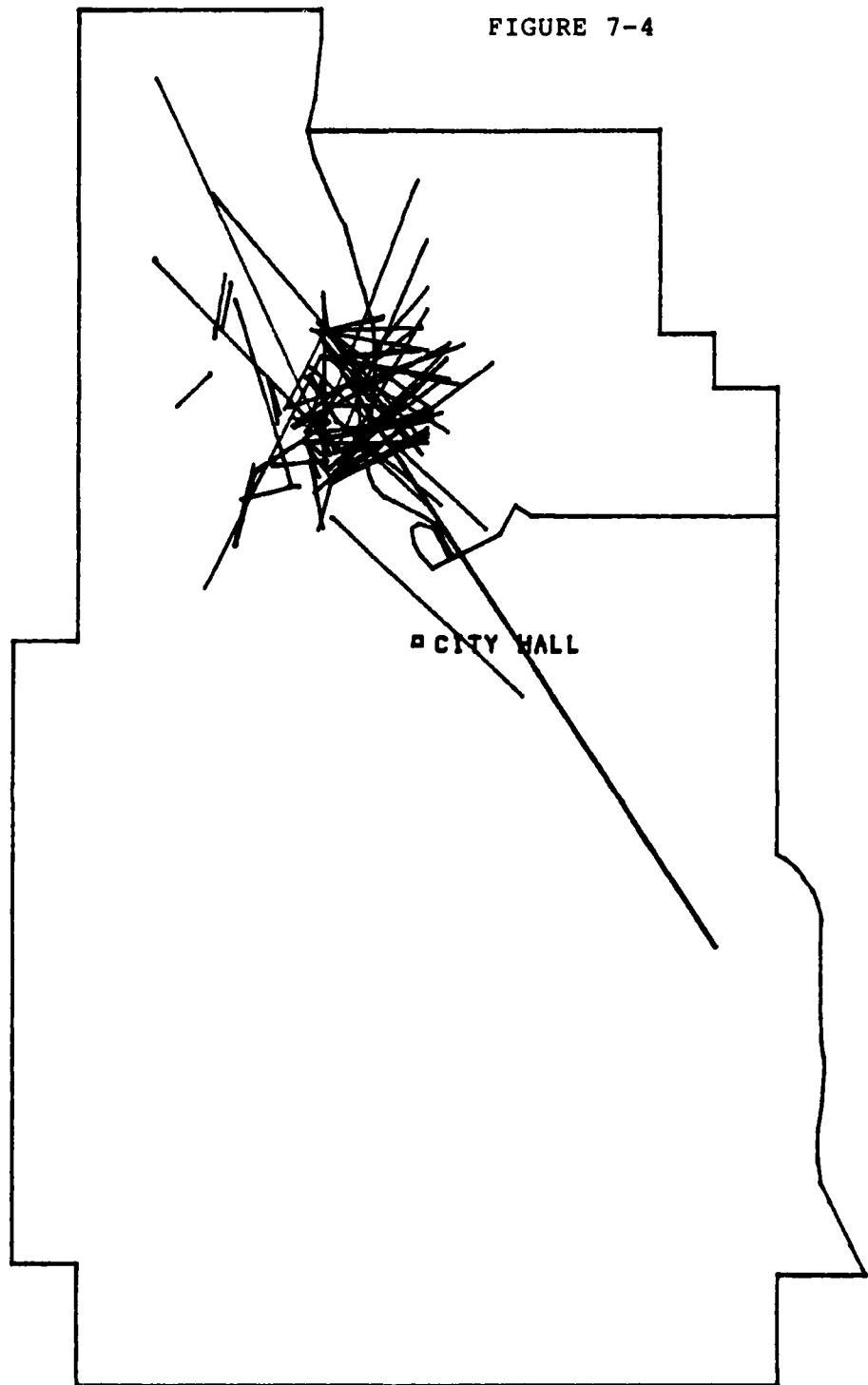
sixty percent terminated in the Northeast sectors. In other words, Adams' sector model described most of the Polish moves in their area of major concentration, only about half of them from a nearby minor cluster in North Minneapolis, and hardly any of the moves originating in the southern wards.

Mapping some of the Polish moves gives an indication of the exact beginning and end points of some of the migrations, not just the angular distance as in the sector analysis. Whereas all known moves were recorded in one table in the sector approach, it is necessary to use several maps with different origins. The reason for this is two-fold. First, a plot of all Polish moves would have an uncanny resemblance to a plate of spaghetti. Second, each move was computer drawn as a straight line. Unless you are recording each line as it is drawn, you cannot tell origin from destination. Using a series of maps with specific origins allows us to differentiate some origins or destinations, but the number of maps required to cover all origins would be quite large.

Polish moves from North Minneapolis, Wards 3 and 10, can only be partially described as sector-like (Figure 7-4). About half originating there terminated there (Table 7-1). We cannot tell from Figure 7-4 which end of these moves were origins and which were destinations. The ends of the moves terminating in the southern wards and

FIGURE 7-4

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MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

POLISH MOVES FROM WARDS 3 AND 10

Northeast, however, had to be destinations (Figure 7-4). Although a few moves originating in North Minneapolis ended south of city hall, a very large share ended in Northeast. Those terminating in Northeast must be considered non-sector specific. Most ending in Northeast were not within twenty degrees of the movers' original residence (Table 7-1), but more importantly, they were distinctly cross-town moves, nearly at right angles to line from the downtown to the original residence, moves Adams said were unlikely. Moreover, these moves crossed, not paralleled, the major transportation routes in North and Northeast and jumped a major physical barrier, the Mississippi River. The moves coming from North Minneapolis to Northeast ended near Holy Cross Church and north of it, areas determined to be the middle and fringe areas of Northeast's Polish community (Figure 3-12). Only a few ended near Seventh Street and the River, the old Polish core. It is reasonable to assume that the additional ten years in Minneapolis would have increased, rather than decreased, the status of those remaining in 1915, so destinations in the middle area or on the fringe were to be expected.

Moves from the southern wards from 1905 to 1915 clearly had Northeast as a major locus of their destinations (Figure 7-5) with the area near Holy Cross again being a major recipient. Only two moves from the

FIGURE 7-5

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MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

POLISH MOVES FROM SOUTHERN WARDS

southern wards were sector specific (Table 7-1). Clearly all the moves from southern wards to Northeast were cross-town moves.

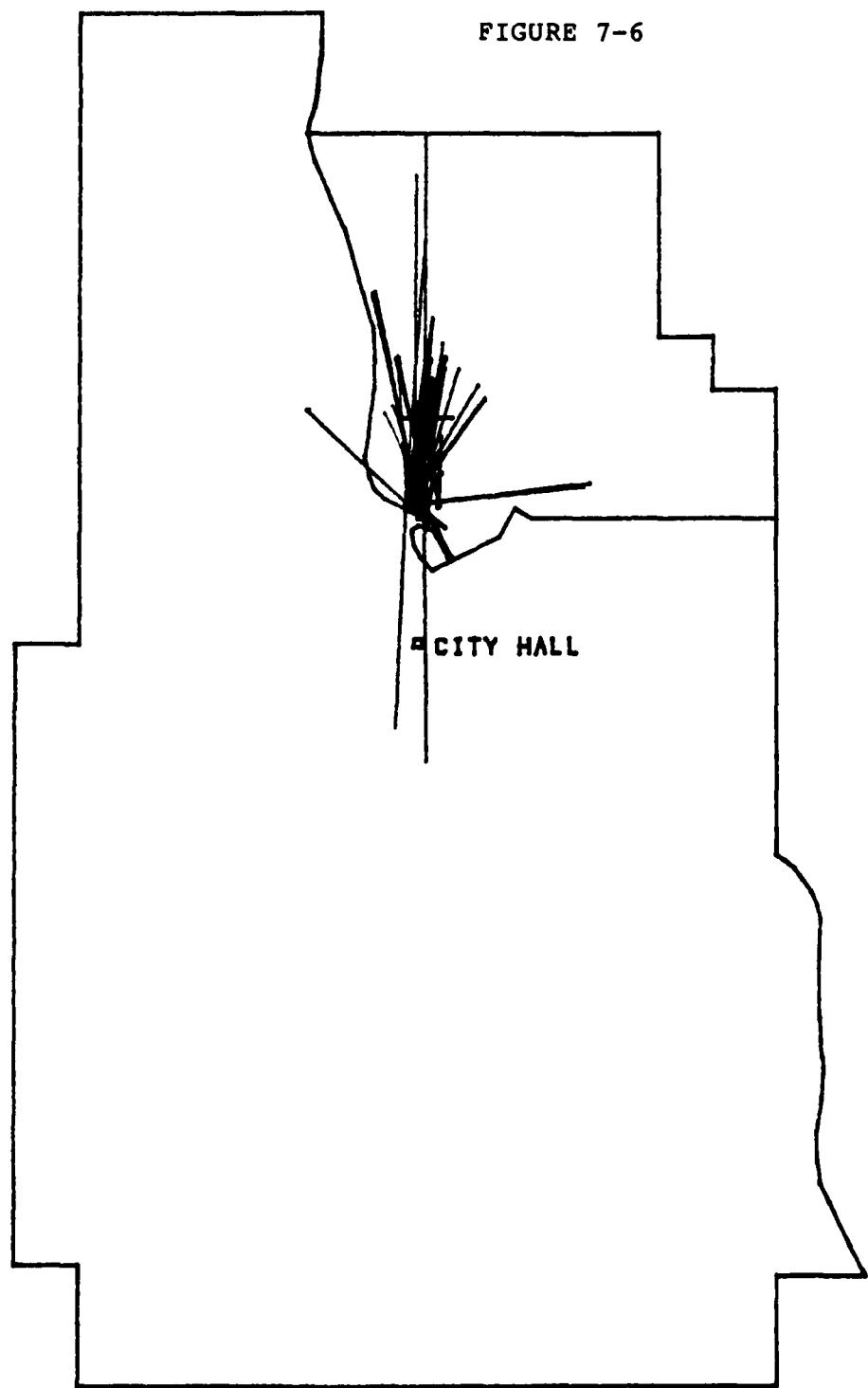
Instead of plotting all Polish moves from Northeast wards, it was decided to limit origins to two small heavily-populated areas of Northeast and at the same time to plot all the moves of non-Poles from the same areas. The resulting maps will allow easy differentiation of origins and the comparison of the directional biases of ethnic groups so that the hypothesis that groups having the same relative location vis-a-vis the city center should have similar wedge-shaped destination patterns could be tested.

Area 1 was a nine square block region, three blocks on each side, located in the old Polish core. Fifth Avenue and Eighth Avenue were its southeast and northwest boundaries; River Street and Second Street were its southwest and northeast limits.

Polish moves from Area 1 could be described as sector-like (Figure 7-6). Only about five of the 105 did not fall within the forty-degree sector. One to the northwest terminated in the Polish area of North Minneapolis. Two went almost directly east to the Dogtown area, which had growing Italian and Polish elements. Only two moves went across town to "un-Polish" destinations. It is impossible, because of overprinting of moves, to

FIGURE 7-6

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MINNEAPOLIS 1905-15 1 MILE

POLISH MOVES FROM AREA 1

differentiate the exact end point of each sector-like move, but unmistakably a large number terminated in the Polish area near Holy Cross Church and farther north on the fringe. Since most of the people in the old core area were at the lower end of the tenure scale in 1905 (Figures 5-2 to 5-7), their movements to the middle and fringe areas probably reflect increased status and the need for more housing space. The average distance of Polish moves from Area 1 was .84 miles (Table 7-2), very close to the average distance, .78 miles, moved by all Polish males in Minneapolis during this period (Table 6-5) and a distance roughly equal to the distance from the old core to the middle area around Holy Cross.

Area 2 was composed of six blocks near Holy Cross Church and just east of it. The area measured two blocks north-south and four blocks east-west. Not all the blocks had equal areas. Seventeenth Avenue was the area's northern boundary, Fifteenth Avenue its southern, Washington Avenue N.E. its eastern and University Avenue its western.

All but a few moves from Area 2 were sector-like (Figure 7-7). The moves which were not were directed toward the Polish area of North Minneapolis (Figure 3-7 and 7-7). Most of the sector-like moves originating in Area 2 were very short and many were at angles near ninety degrees from the line from old residence to city center.

TABLE 7-2
MOVES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2 FOR SELECTED
ETHNIC GROUPS: 1905-15

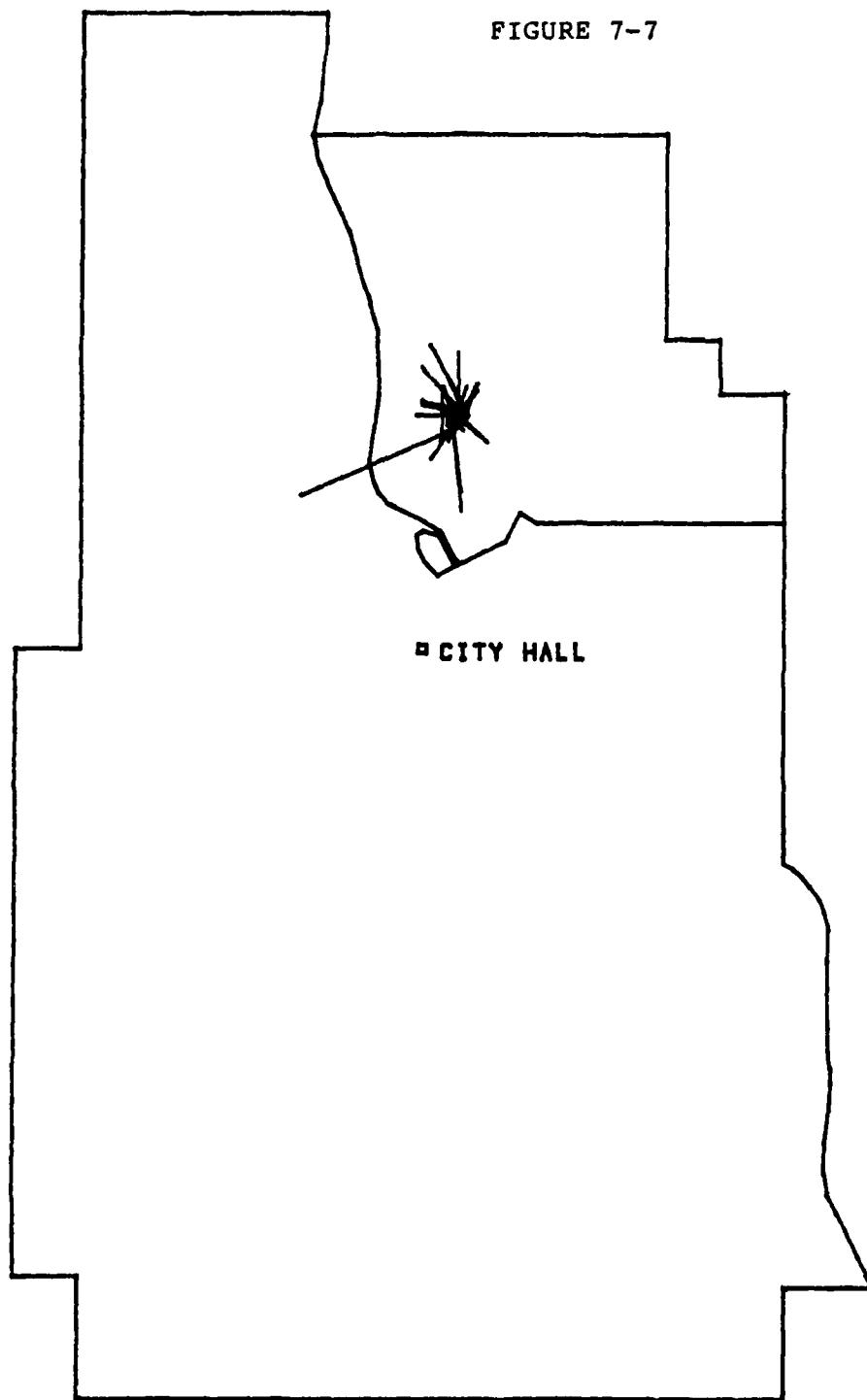
	Area 1	Area 2
Polish		
Number	105	37
Average Distance	.84	.30
Other Slavic		
Number	26	38
Average Distance	.74	.47
Non-Slavic		
Number	200	102
Average Distance	1.58	1.28
Scandinavian		
Number	20	40
Average Distance	2.50	1.29
British		
Number	104	20
Average Distance	1.76	1.29
German		
Number	46	40
Average Distance	1.29	1.19

The average move distance by the thirty-seven movers from Area 2 was only .30 miles (Table 7-2). Adams did not think short moves of this variety would be very numerous because of his assumption that migration was a process whereby the mover fulfills his housing needs and his assumption that similar types of houses existed in rings around the city.¹⁴ Moves from Area 2 militate against

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 312.

FIGURE 7-7

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MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

POLISH MOVES FROM AREA 2

these assumptions. Apparently there was some variation among the housing in the area around Holy Cross and/or people do not view houses simply as space providers.

The middle area near Holy Cross had a strong attraction to Poles living all around the city (Figures 7-4 through 7-7). Poles living in North and South Minneapolis engaged in long, unsector-like moves to it. Poles from Area 1, whose moves were sector-like, moved there and Poles already living in it (Area 2) chose to remain in it.

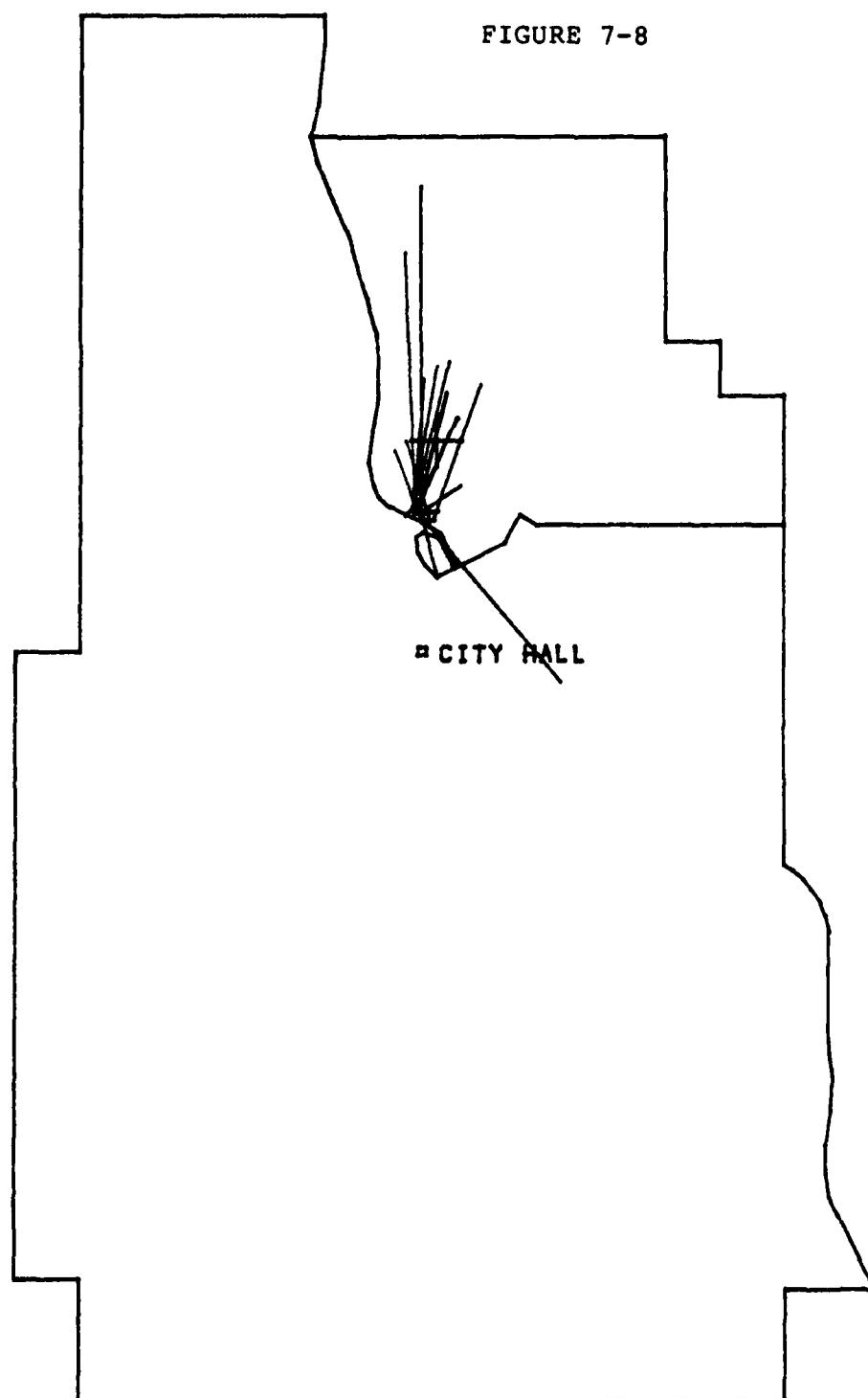
When Poles did not move to the middle area around Holy Cross or the fringe immediately north of it, they usually moved to areas having secondary Polish concentrations in 1905, such as North Minneapolis and Dogtown (compare Figures 7-4 to 7-7 with Figure 3-7).

Did other ethnic groups from Areas 1 and 2 display sector-like moves similar to the Poles'? Is the content of information flows concerning housing opportunities the same for different ethnic groups living close together? Other Slavic groups, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians, shared similar social characteristics with the Poles, lived near them, and had their own churches close to the Polish ones. Other Slavic moves were very similar to the Polish moves in specific destinations, distances and angle of moves from both Area 1 and 2 (Figures 7-8 and 7-9).

The non-Slavic groups from Area 1 did not have

FIGURE 7-8

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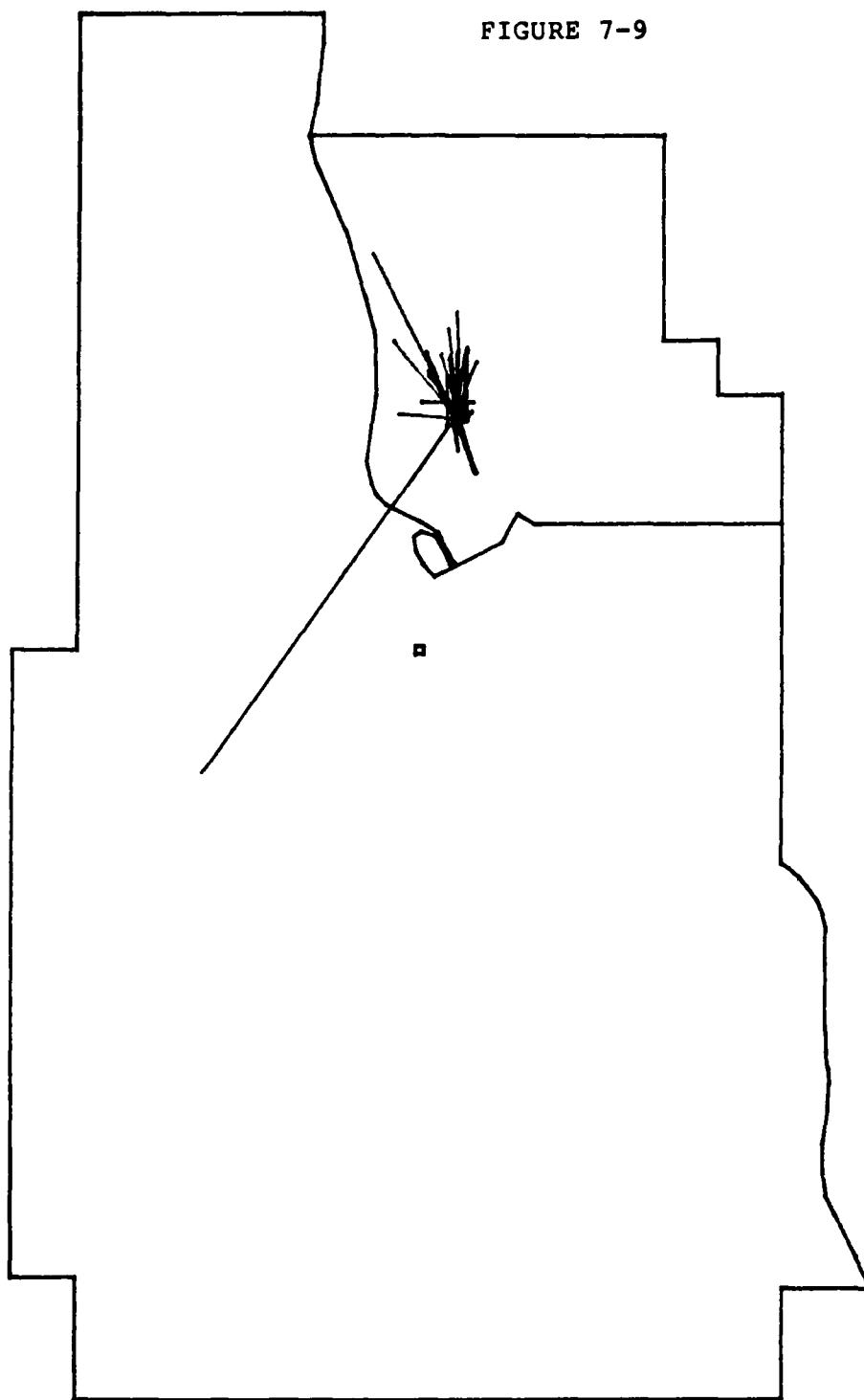


MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

OTHER SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREA 1

FIGURE 7-9

180

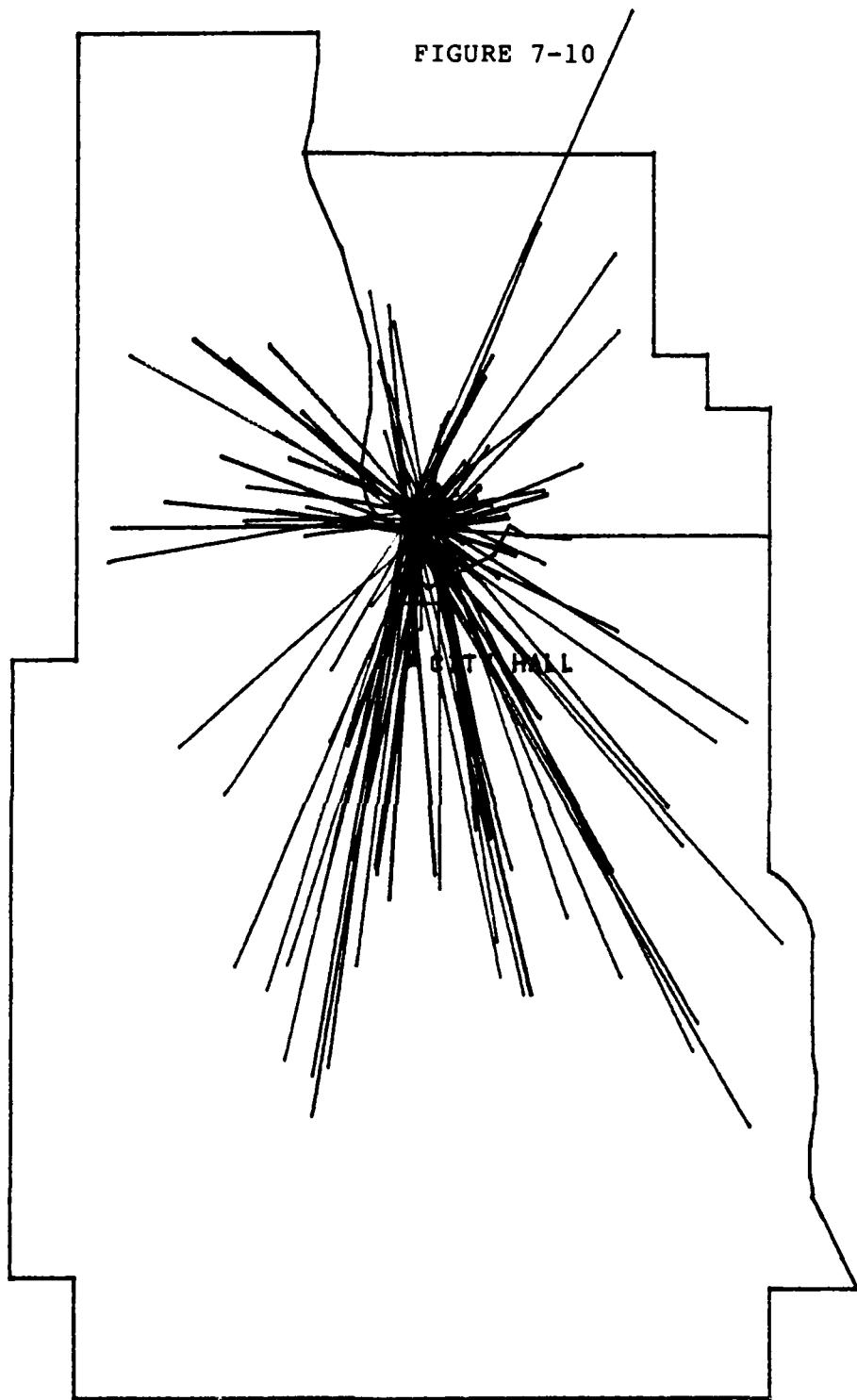


MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

OTHER SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREA 2

FIGURE 7-10

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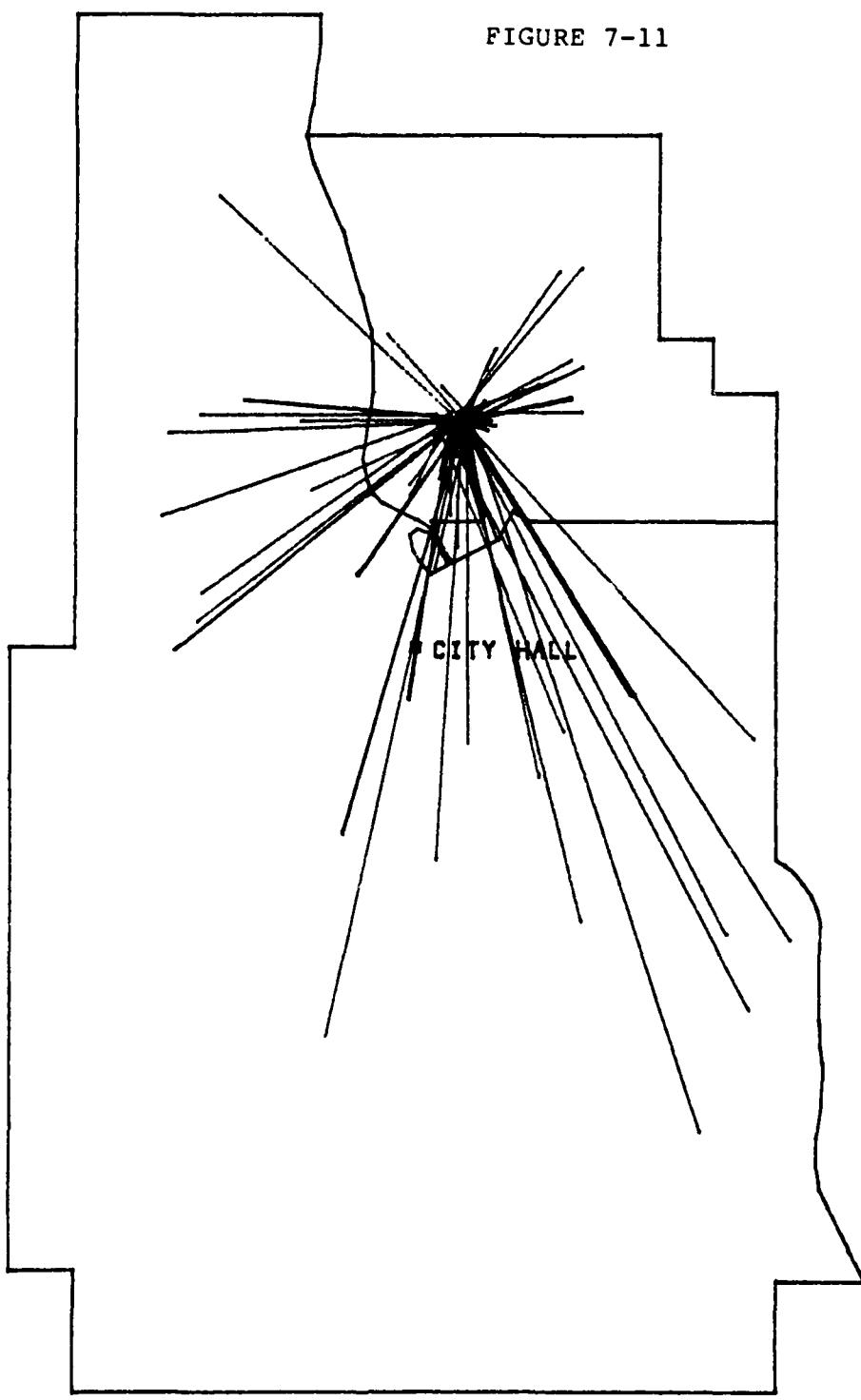


MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

NON-SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREA 1

FIGURE 7-11

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MINNEAPOLIS: 1905-15 1 MILE

NON-SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREA 2

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NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS: LOCATION AND MOVEMENT IN AN ETHNIC COMMU--ETC(U)
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sector-like moves from 1905 to 1915 (Figure 7-10). Their migration pattern was star-like. They were moving to areas, which, in Adamsonian terms, were absent from or fuzzy on their mental maps. Three areas had few non-Slavic mover destinations. One was directly east along the city boundary, an area of industrial land use. Another was southwest of Area 1, an area of many rail lines having on its northern border the Near Northside Russian Jewish community. The final open area was north of Area 1, the sector which the Adams model predicted should have received many migrants. It did not! This area was the one of Slavic concentration. The average distance of the 200 non-Slavic moves was appreciably higher than the Polish and other Slavic moves (Figure 7-10 and Table 7-2).

Non-Slavic moves from Area 2 (Figure 7-11) are very similar to their Area 1 pattern; star-like, long and directed away from the Slavic concentrations in Northeast (Figure 7-11 and Table 7-2).

Separate maps were plotted (but not included here) depicting the moves of the three major non-Slavic groups for which regional maps were developed in Northeast (Figures 3-40 through 3-44). These ethnic categories accounted for 270 of the 302 non-Slavic moves from 1905 to 1915 from Areas 1 and 2. Not a great deal can be said about their destinations. These groups' moves terminating

within Northeast did end in areas of the respective group's concentration (Figure 3-44), but most of these groups' moves ended outside Northeast. I know of no regionalization of the wards outside Northeast similar to Figure 3-44, but in 1930 all but two of Minneapolis' wards possessed a Swedish, Norwegian, German, and Yankee makeup.¹⁵ The two exceptions were the Slavic Ward 1 and the Russian Jewish Ward 3.

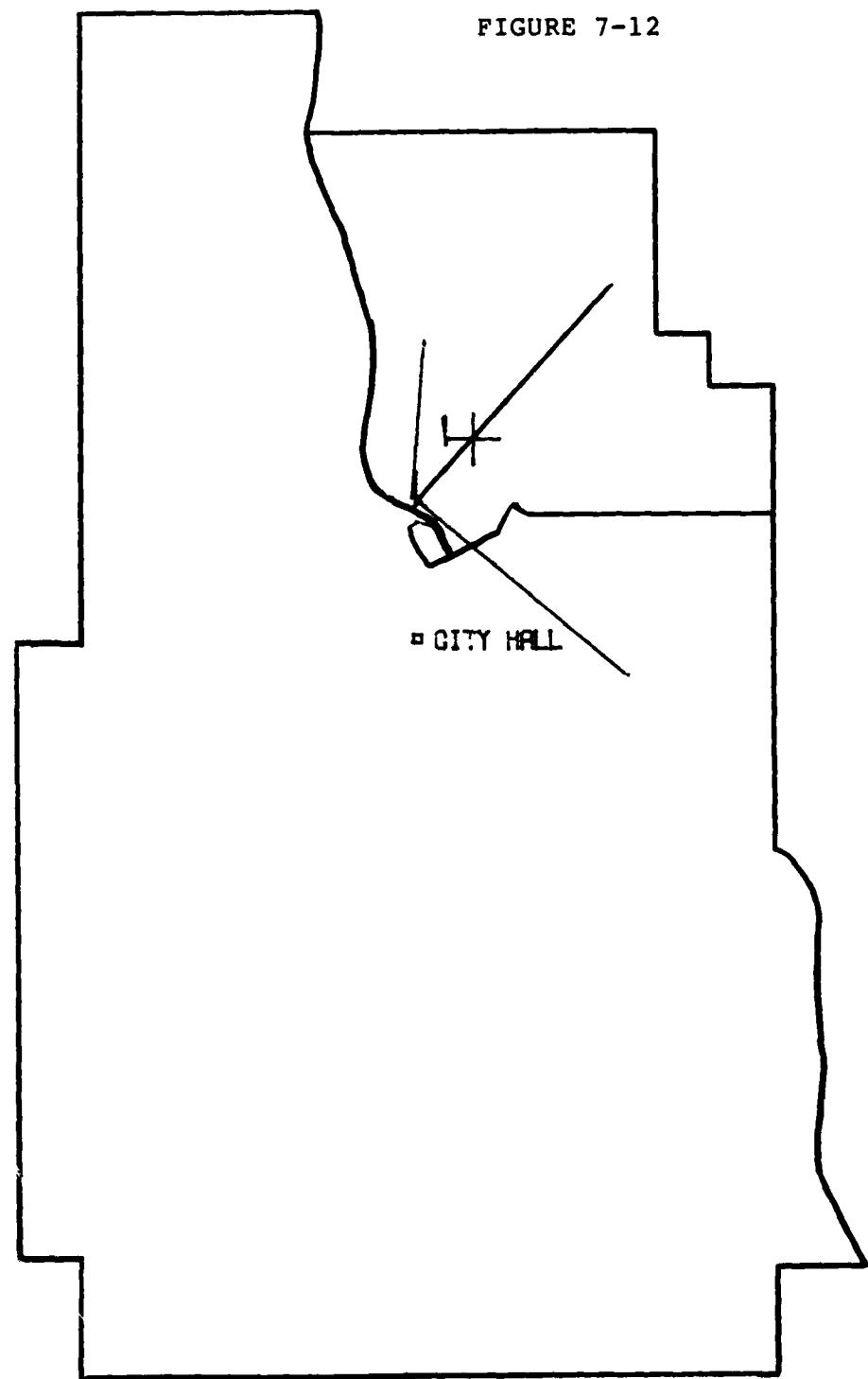
Further analysis of moves during ten-year periods after 1915 became more difficult because by then many of the people living in Area 1 and 2 in 1905 had moved and because of the decreasing number of people who could fulfill the increasingly complex criteria to maintain the common origin or origins. To be counted as a move from 1915 to 1925 from Areas 1 or 2, a person had to have remained at the same address from 1905 to 1915 and moved between 1915 and 1925. For moves between 1925 and 1935, a person had to have been sedentary for twenty years before moving.

There were only six Polish moves from Area 1 and three from Area 2 from 1915 to 1925 so moves from both were plotted on one map (Figure 7-12). Seven of the nine were sector-like, two were not. The other Slavic moves from these areas were quite similar to the Polish moves

¹⁵ Schmidt, p. 147.

FIGURE 7-12

185



MINNEAPOLIS: 1915-25

1 MILE

POLISH MOVES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

(Figure 7-13). Nine of the eleven were short and within the Slavic region of Northeast, two were not. Non-Slavic moves from Areas 1 and 2 from 1915 to 1925, however, were quite different from the Slavic ones (Figure 7-14). Their star-like pattern of the 1905-15 period continued. Only a very few of the forty non-Slavic moves were sector-like. Most were quite long. Whereas the average non-Slavic move was 2.36 miles, both the Polish and other Slavic moves averaged less than .86 miles, about a third of the non-Slavic length.

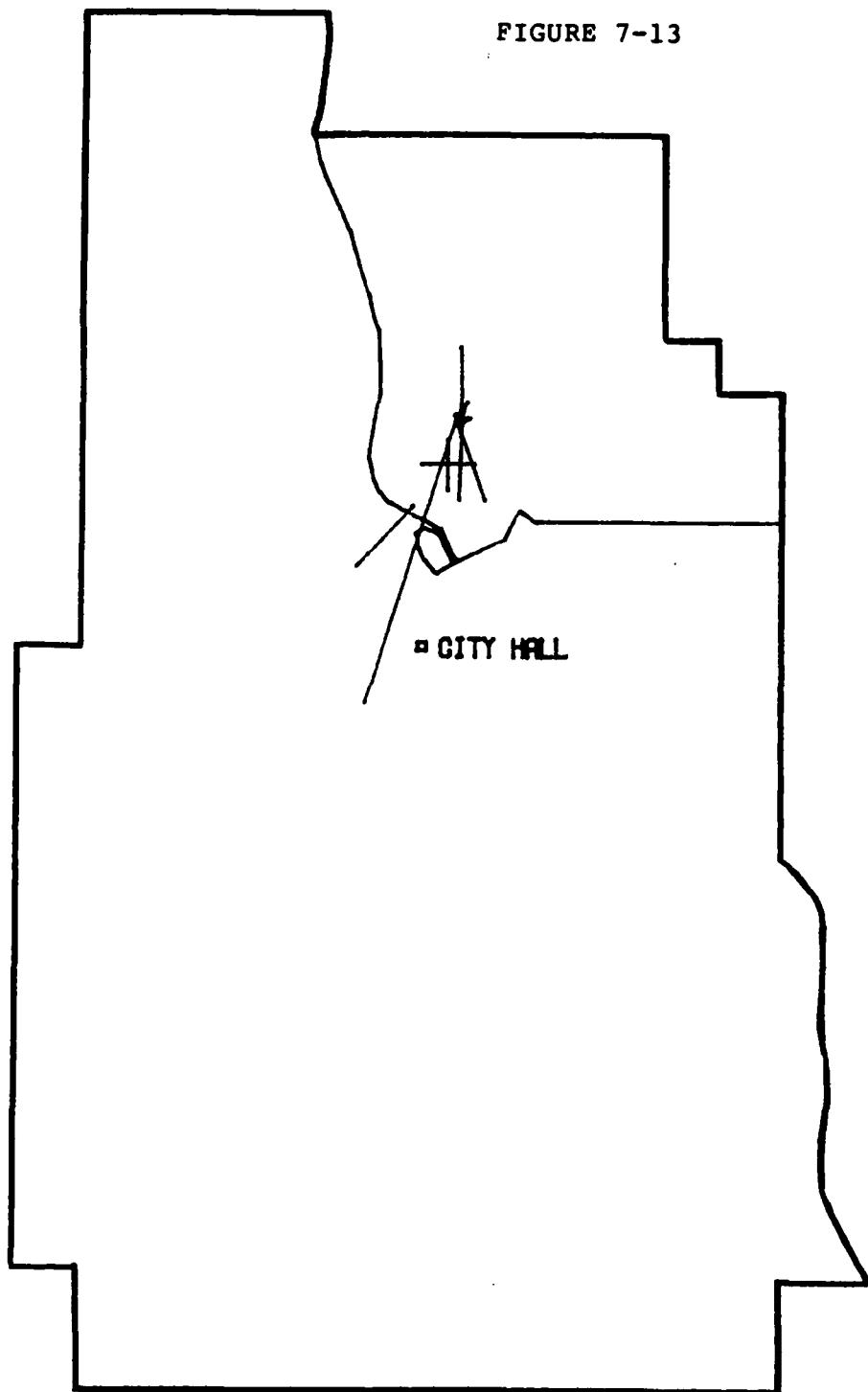
To get around the problem of the decreasing number of people who moved from Areas 1 and 2 during subsequent periods, a series of maps for 1915, 1925, 1935 and 1945 (Figures 7-15 through 7-26) were plotted showing the residences of all people still listed in the City Directory regardless of their movement or non-movement during any individual ten-year period. All, however, resided in Areas 1 or 2 in 1905.

The Polish and other Slavic patterns are relatively easily described for the forty-year period (Figures 7-15 through 7-22). Most Slavs, at all four times, were on the west side of Northeast near the Mississippi River. This pattern was essentially an elaboration of their 1905 distribution (Figure 3-12).

The distribution at each time of the non-Slavs was distinctly different from the Slavs' (Figures 7-23 through

FIGURE 7-13

187



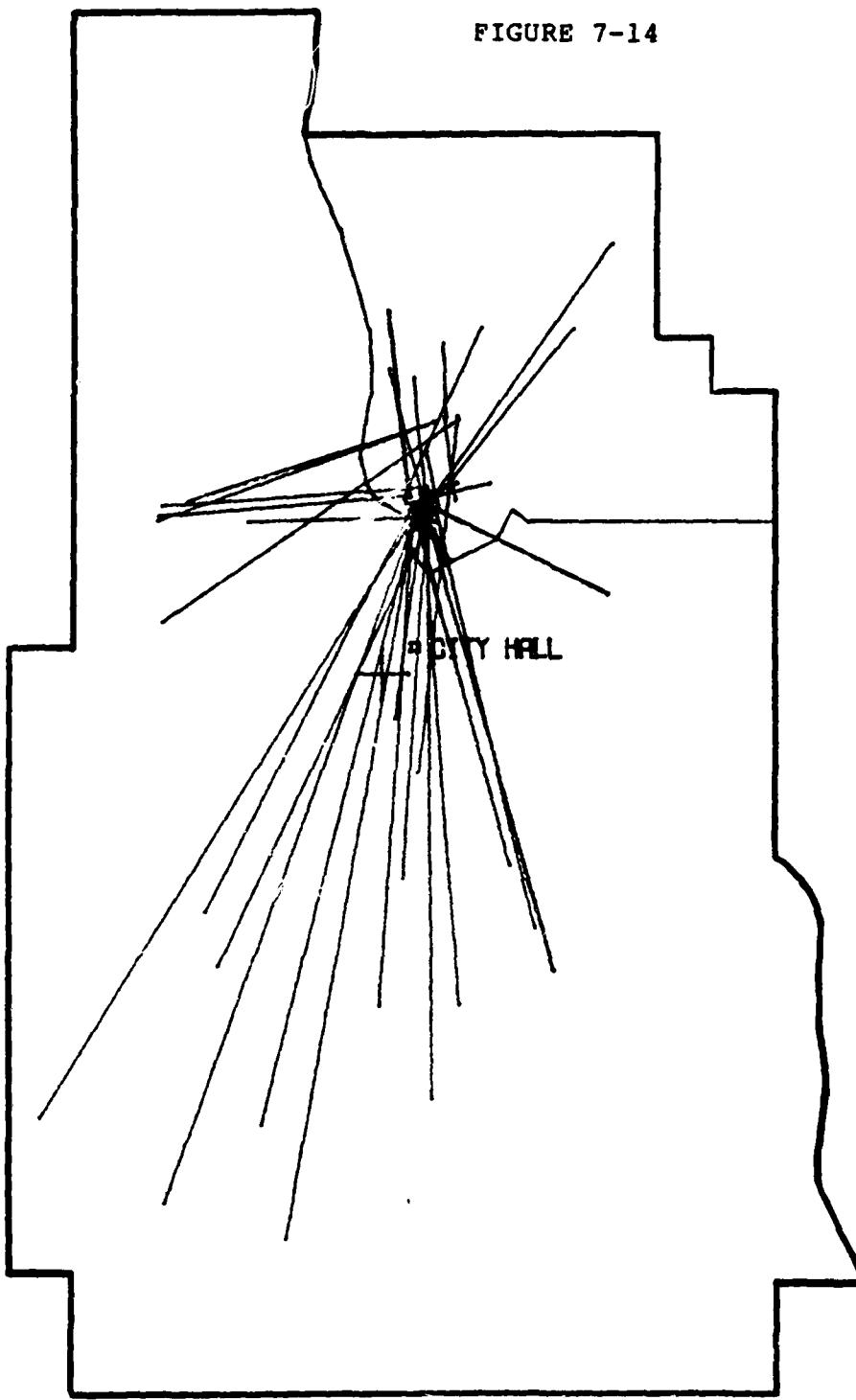
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915-25

1 MILE

OTHER SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-14

188



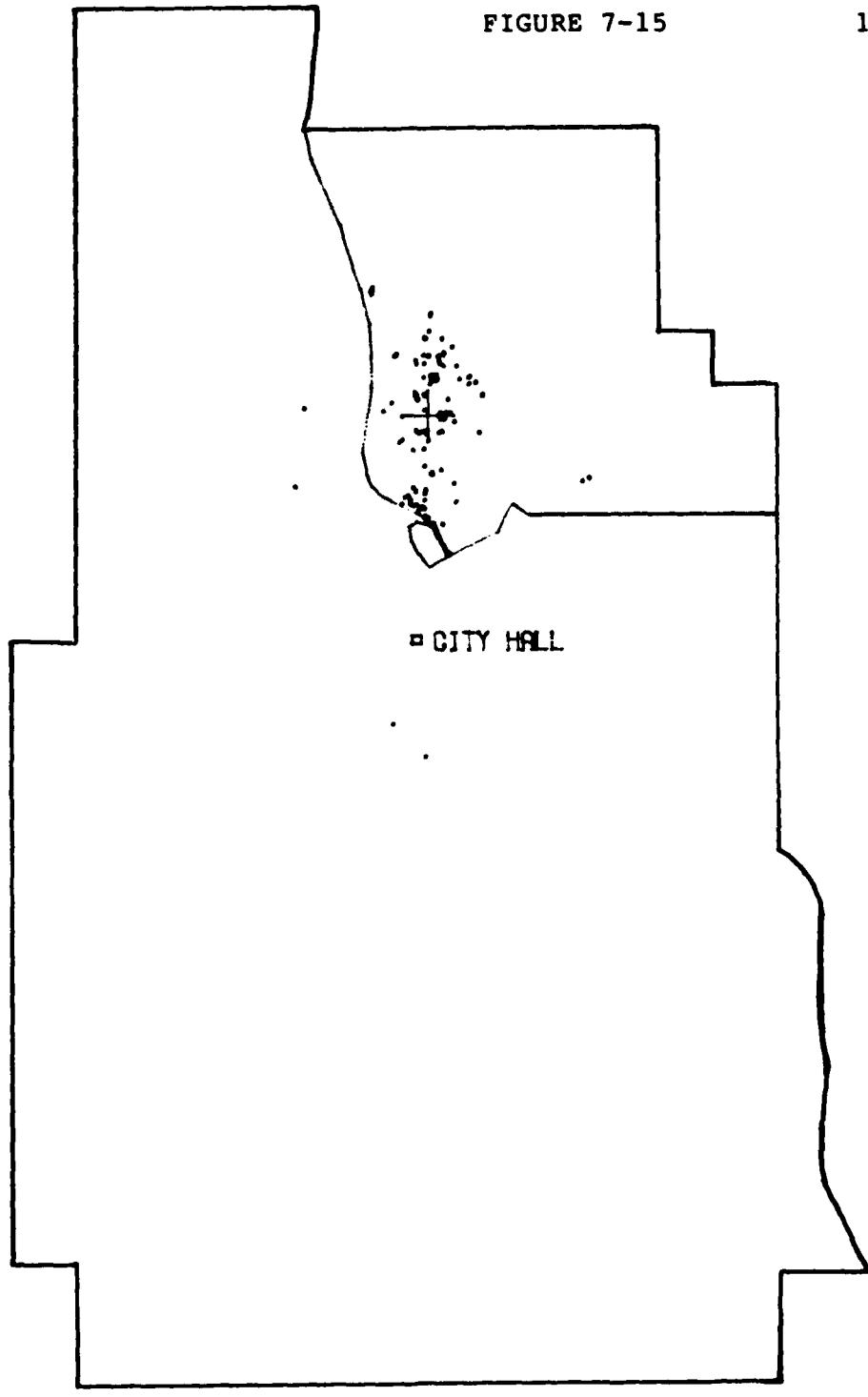
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915-25

1 MILE

NON-SLAVIC MOVES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-15

189



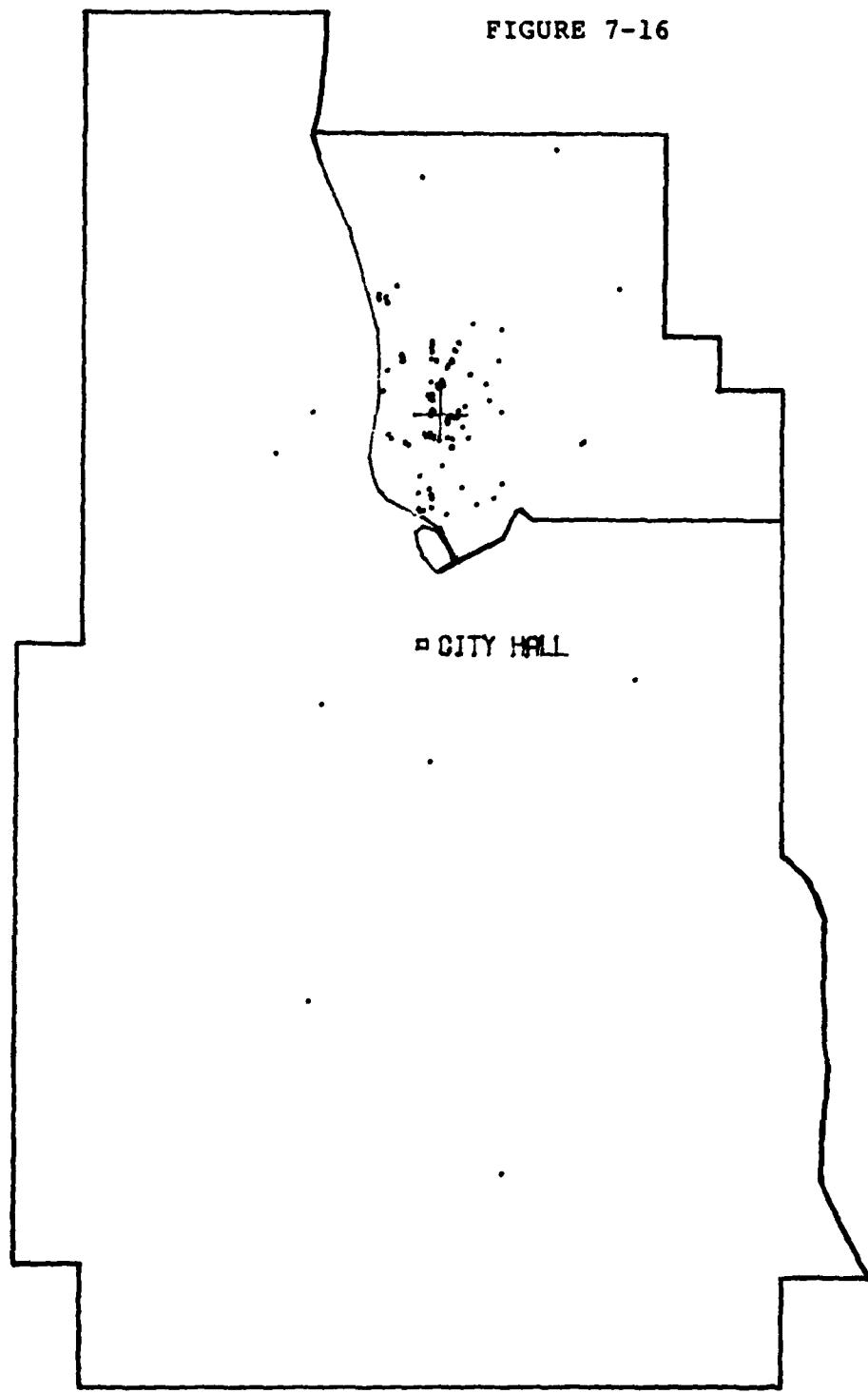
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF POLES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-16

190



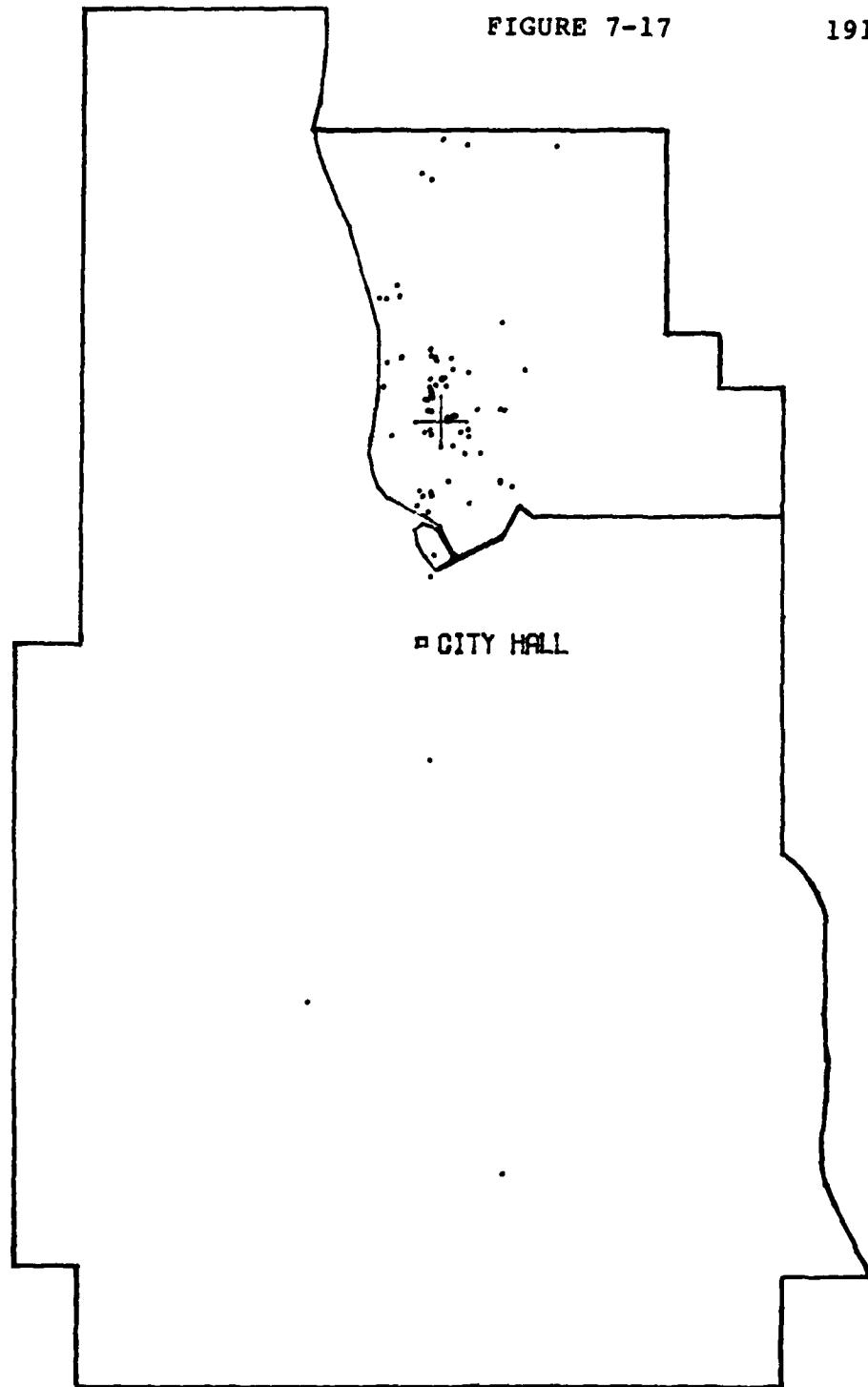
MINNEAPOLIS: 1925

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF POLES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-17

191



MINNEAPOLIS: 1935

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF POLES FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-18

192

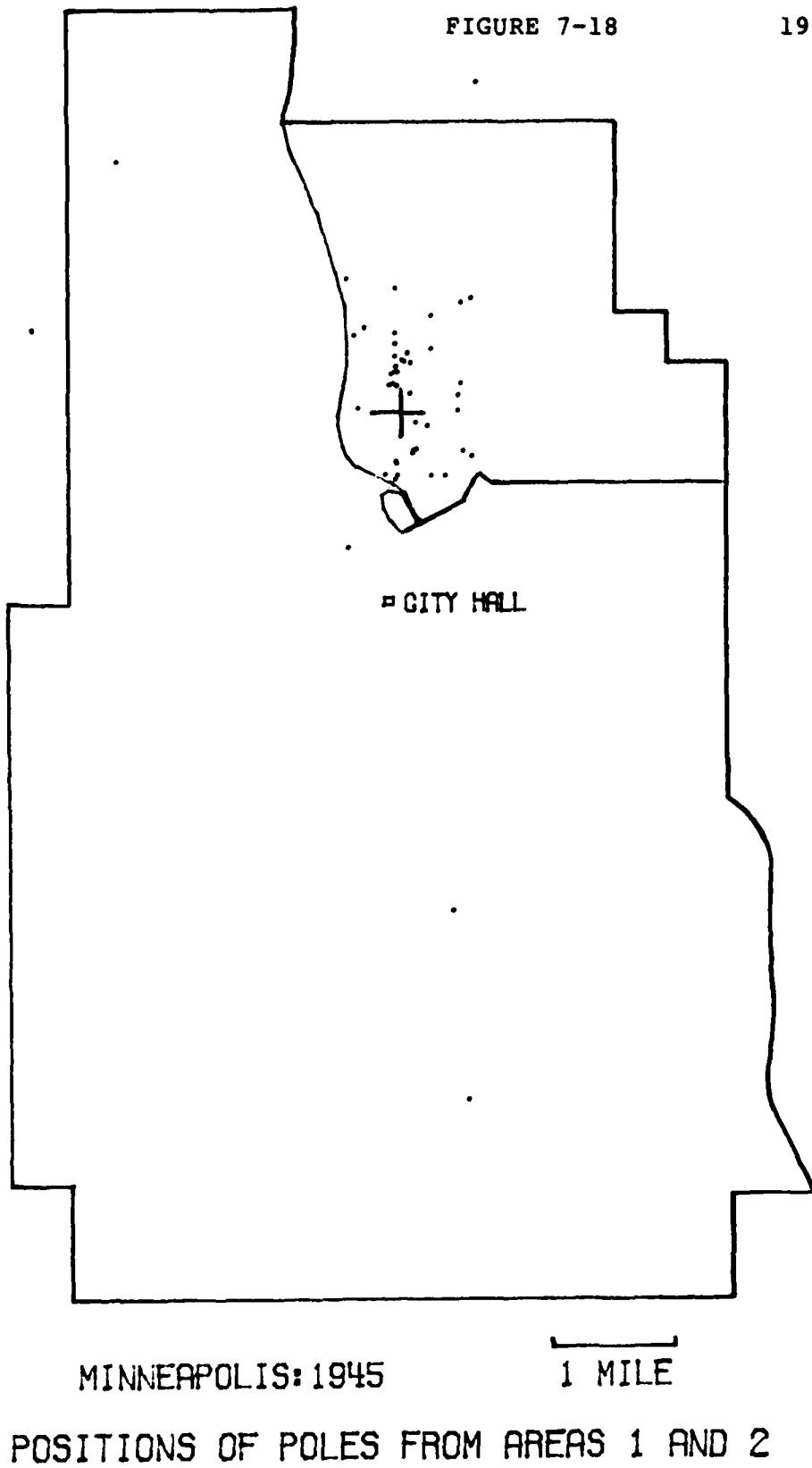
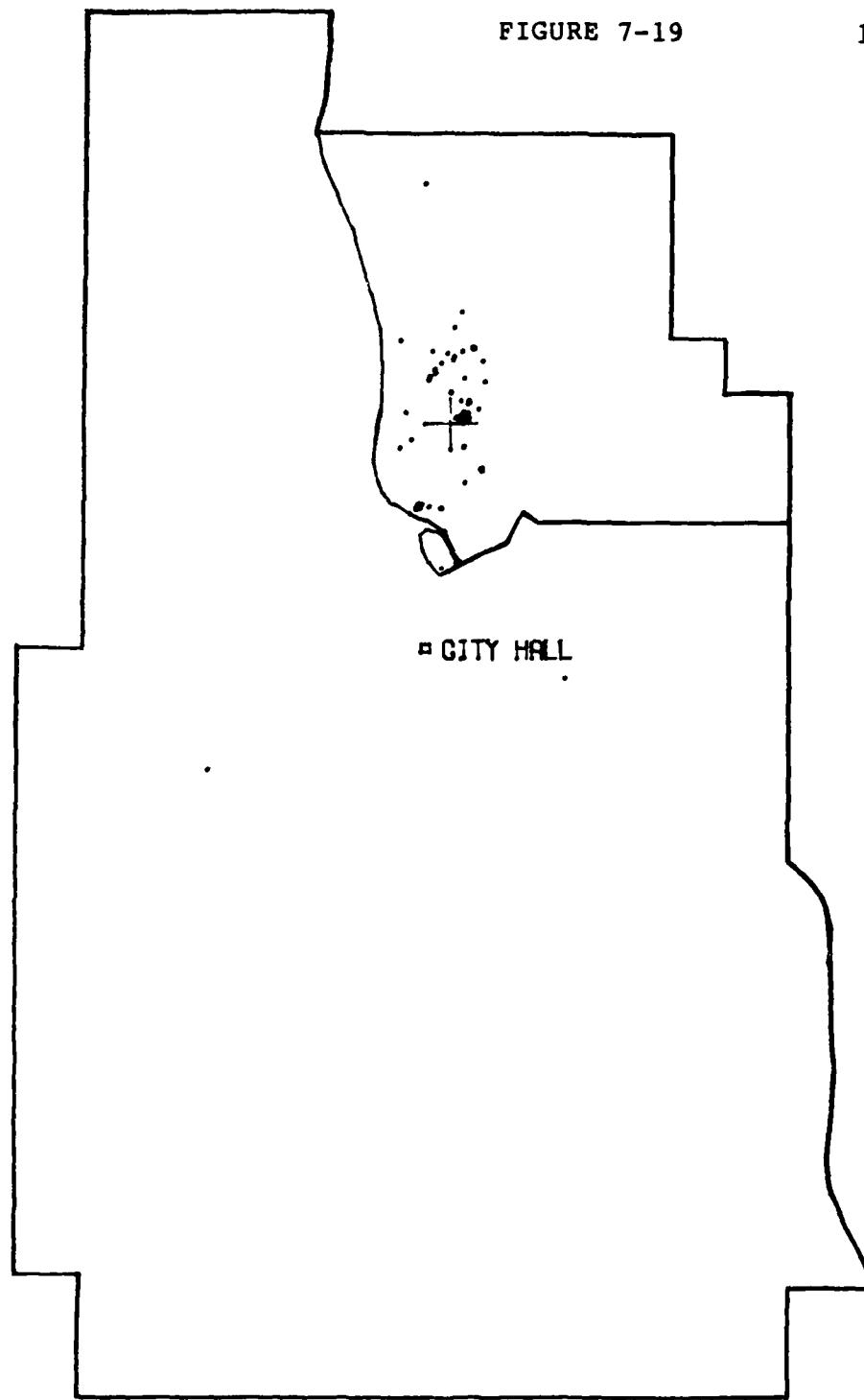


FIGURE 7-19

193



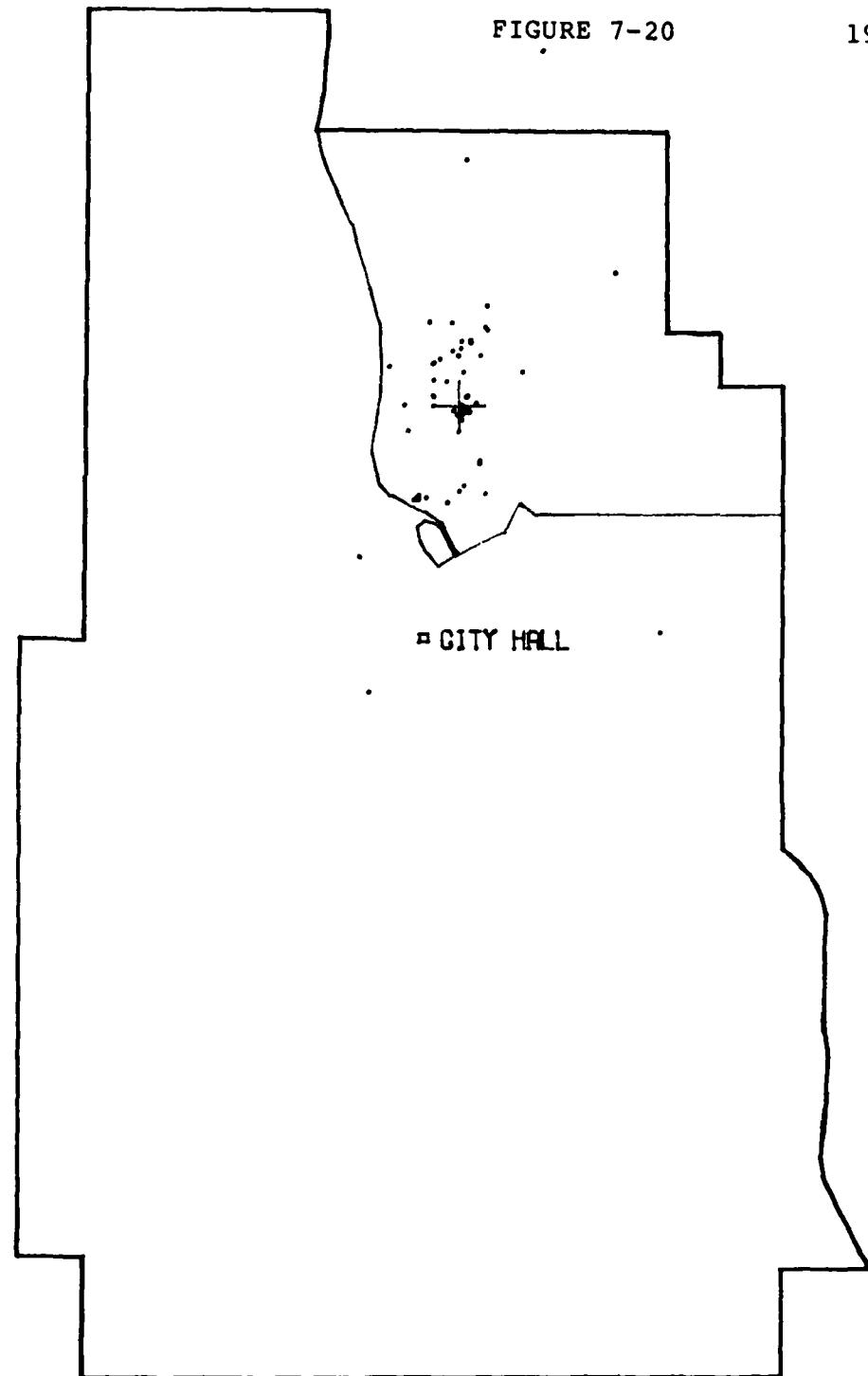
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF OTHER SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-20

194



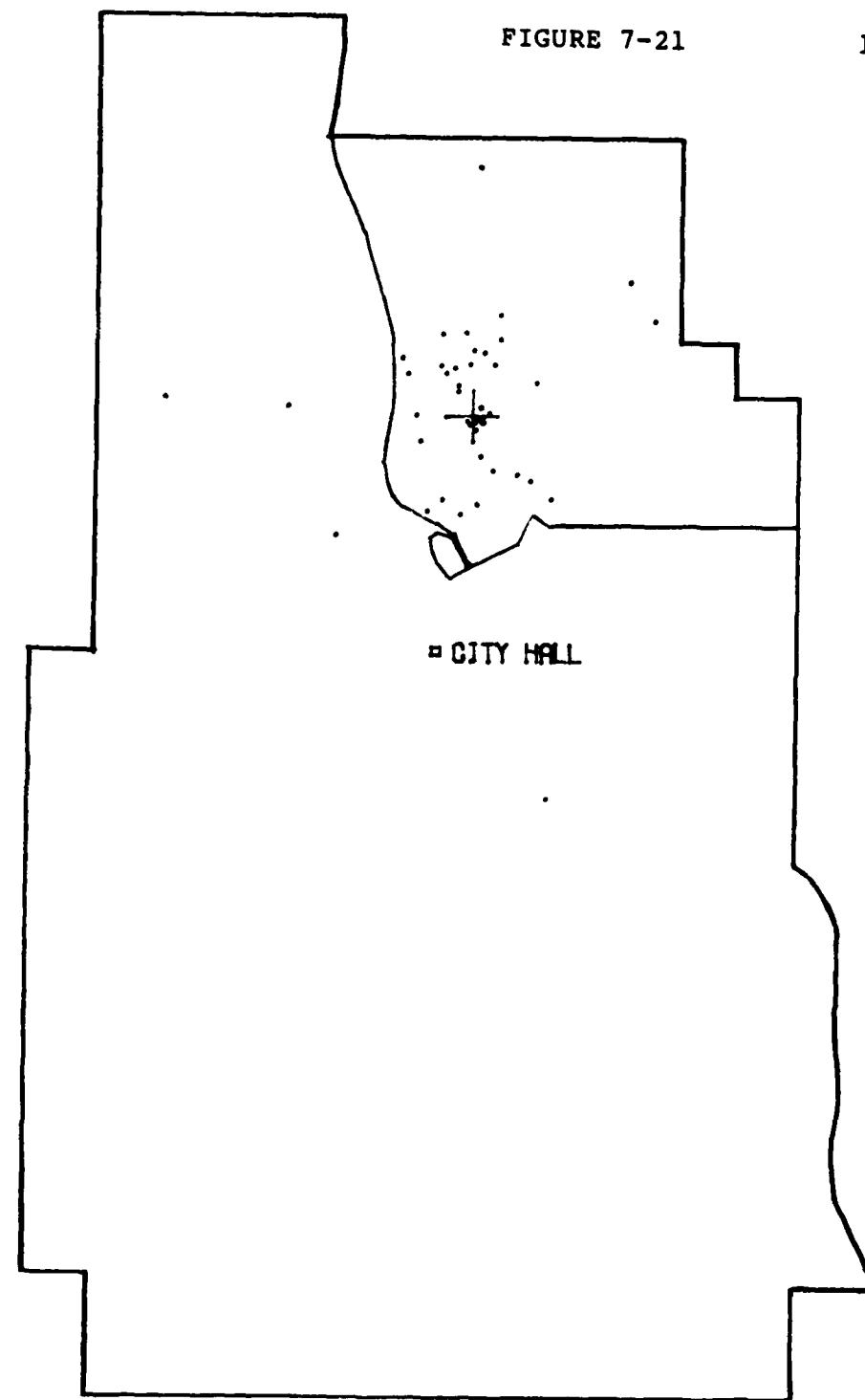
MINNEAPOLIS: 1925

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF OTHER SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-21

195



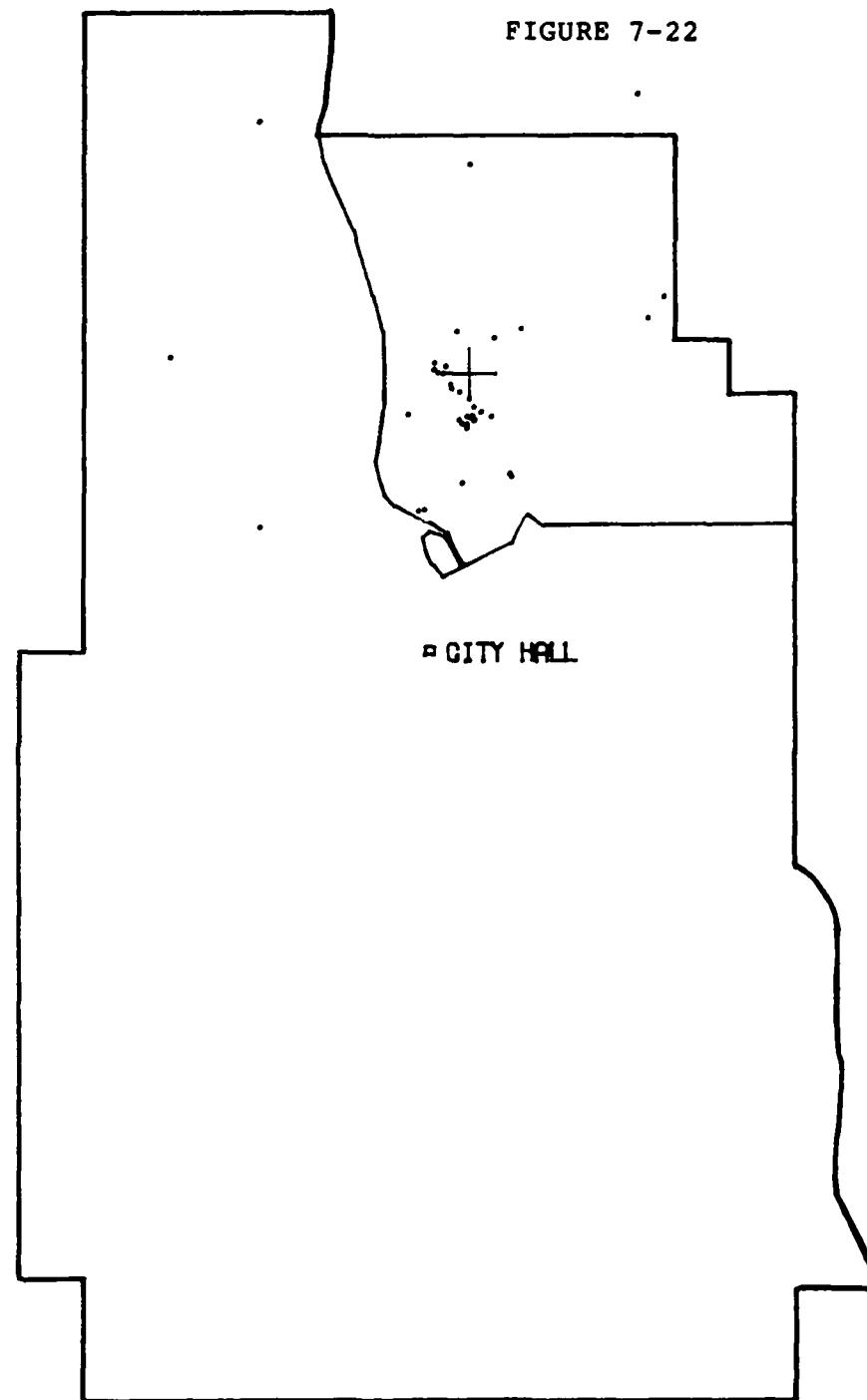
MINNEAPOLIS: 1935

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF OTHER SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-22

196



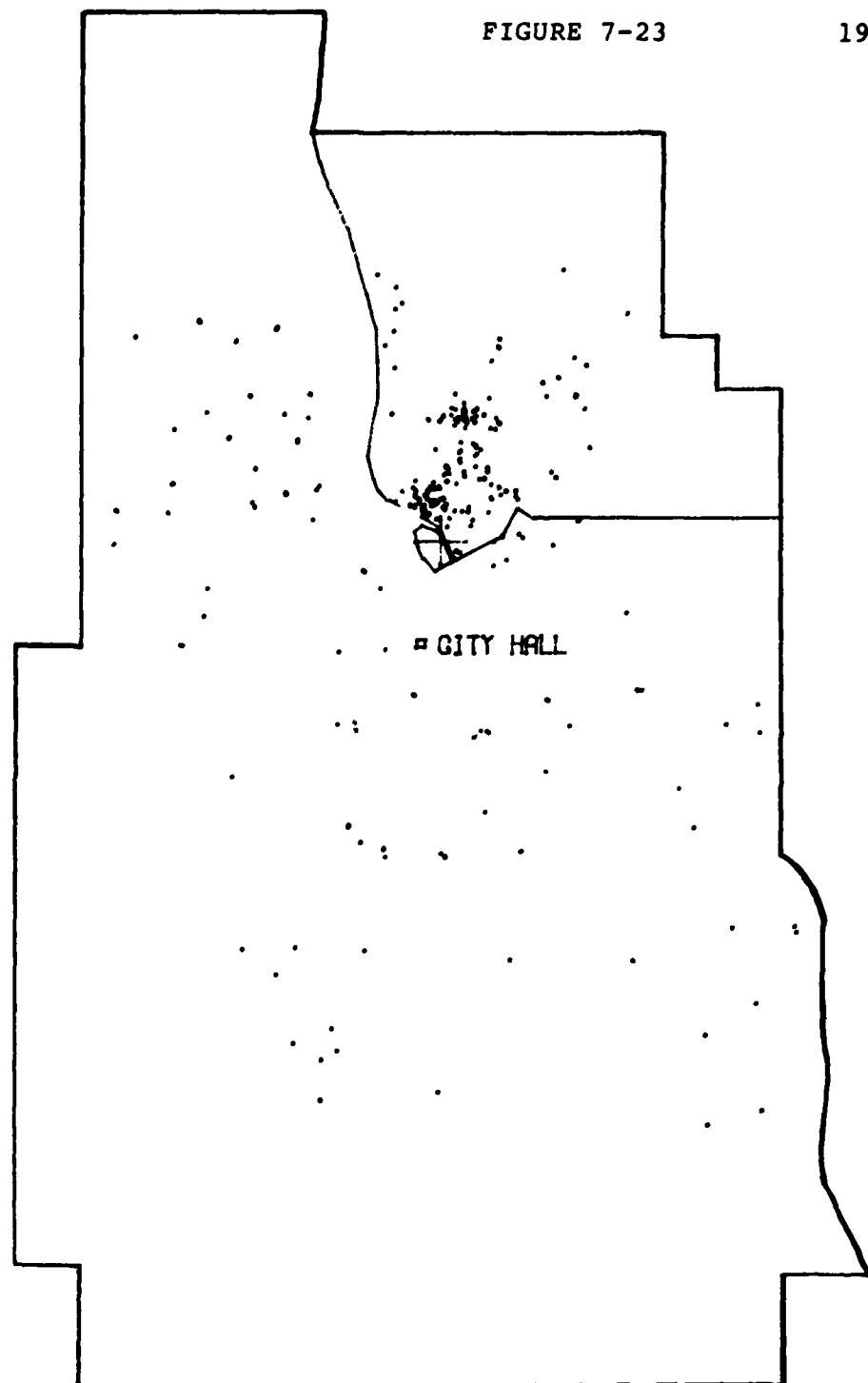
MINNEAPOLIS: 1945

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF OTHER SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-23

197



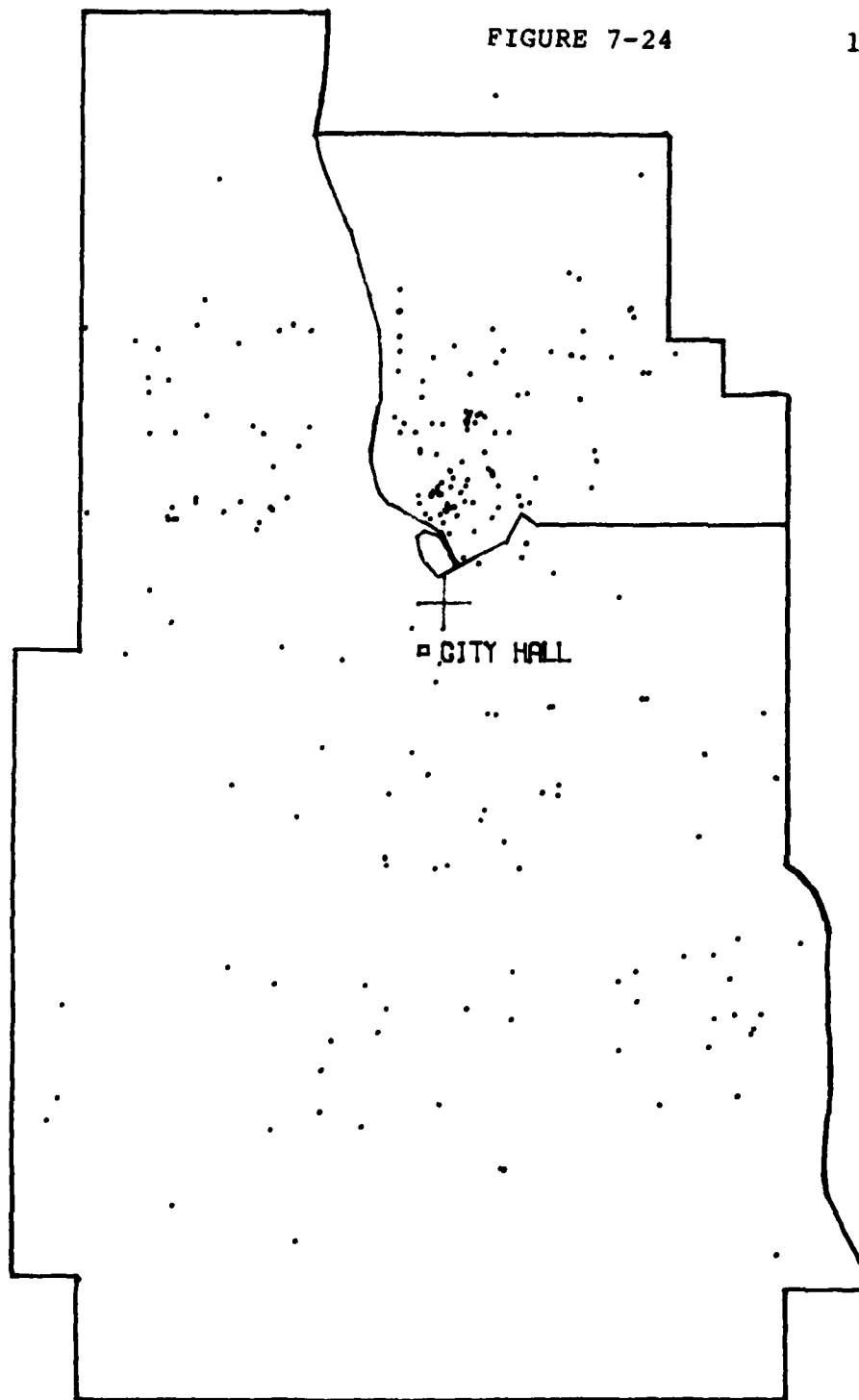
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF NON-SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-24

198



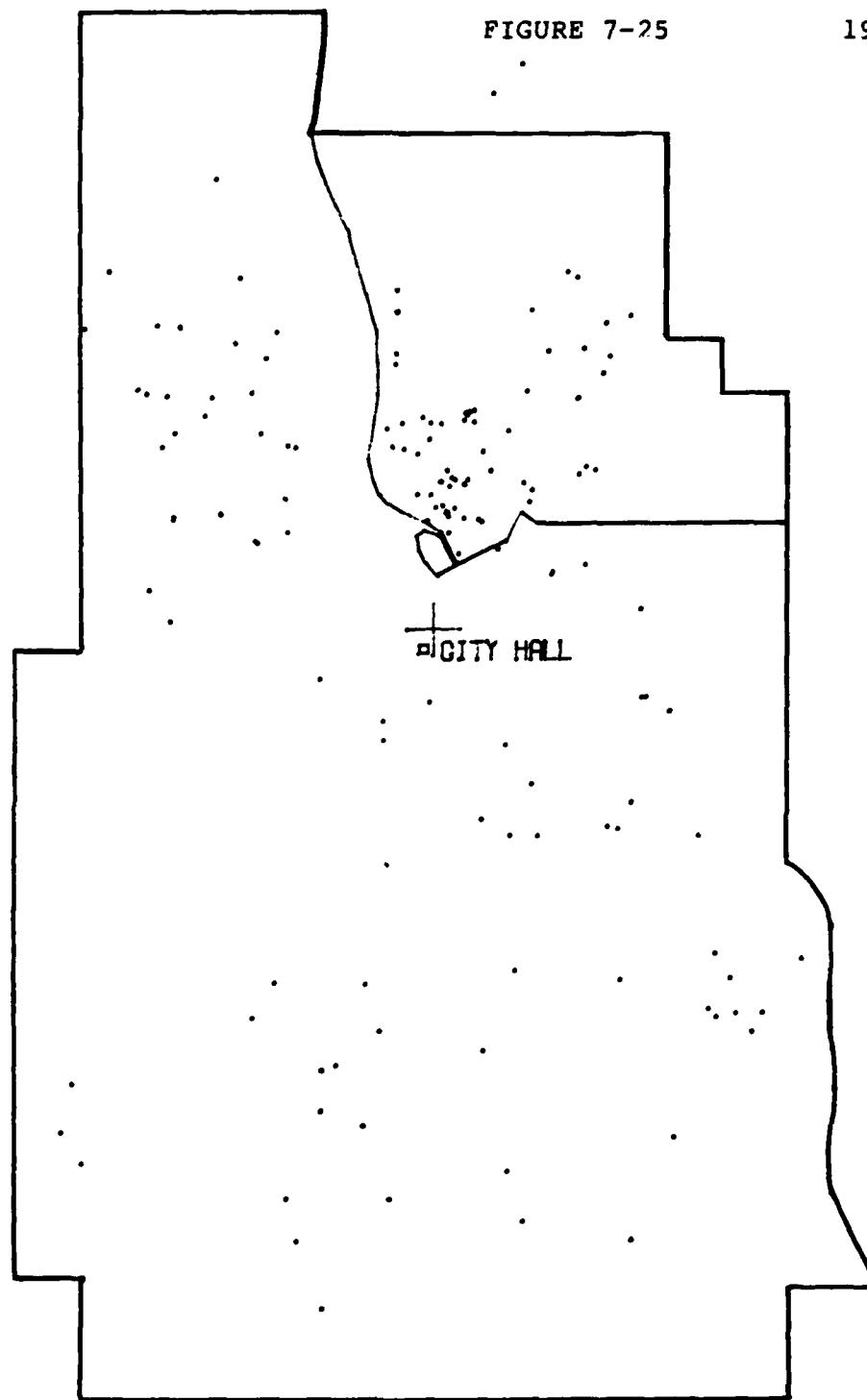
MINNEAPOLIS: 1925

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF NON-SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-25

199



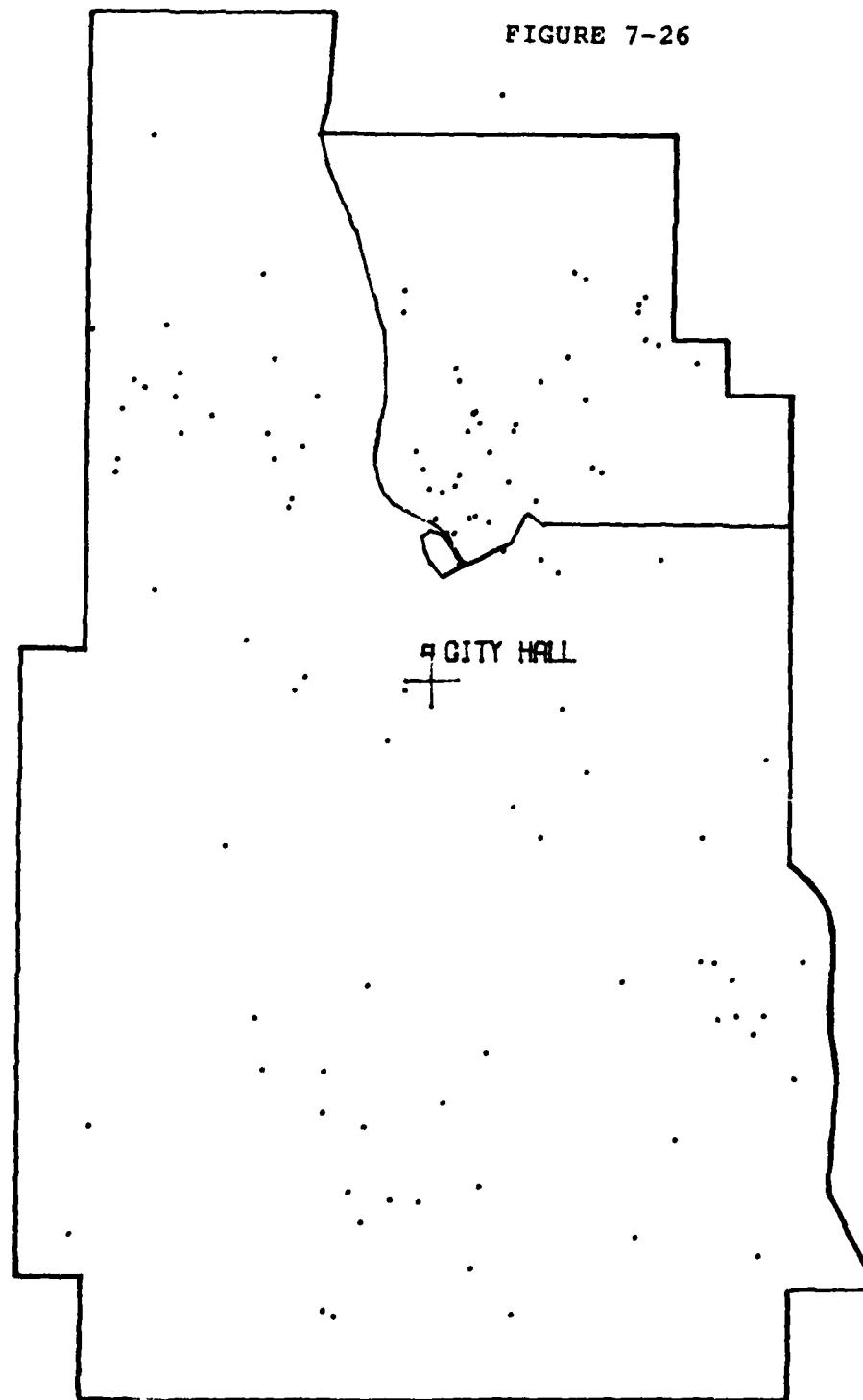
MINNEAPOLIS: 1935

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF NON-SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

FIGURE 7-26

200



MINNEAPOLIS: 1945

1 MILE

POSITIONS OF NON-SLAVS FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

7-26). One might be tempted to say they were poles apart. Many non-Slavs moved to South Minneapolis. Within Northeast they drifted slowly away from the Slavic section to the eastern part of Lower Northeast, to Upper Northeast, and to a sliver of land next to the River. Upper Northeast was British and Scandinavian in 1905 and the area next to the River had been German (Figure 3-44).

The Slavic groups had a much lower level of dispersion than the non-Slavs at each time after 1905, although all had nearly the same standard distance in 1905 (Table 7-3). The greater dispersions were an obvious result of greater distances for the non-Slavic group between their 1905 residence and their residences at each subsequent time.

The two original hypotheses (Numbers 5 and 6) contended that Polish moves would be narrowly defined in space with the moves very much like each other, perhaps reflecting the information flows within the community, and that members of other groups living close to the Poles, but not part of in their community, would have dissimilar destinations. The preponderance of the evidence supports these hypotheses. Poles from all parts of the city tended to move to destinations (Northeast, Dogtown, and North) which had Polish concentrations in 1905. These destinations accounted for a greater share of Polish moves than the sector model. The evidence simply does not

TABLE 7-3
DISPERSION OF PEOPLE FROM AREAS 1 AND 2

	Poles	Other Slavs	Non-Slavs
In 1905			
Number	278	162	698
Standard Distance	.357	.379	.370
In 1915			
Number	160	108	397
Mean Distance ^a	.642	.351	1.139
Standard Distance	.672	.621	1.696
In 1925			
Number	124	79	281
Mean Distance	.922	.474	1.997
Standard Distance	1.023	.743	2.397
In 1935			
Number	86	61	217
Mean Distance	1.056	.647	2.368
Standard Distance	1.312	.912	2.782
In 1945			
Number	59	42	155
Mean Distance	1.081	.872	2.759
Standard Distance	1.445	1.248	3.041

^a Mean distance from 1905 residence in miles.

support the idea that people who lived close together at one time have similar wedge-shaped destinations in subsequent periods. Rather, the evidence of Northeast suggests that groups sharing very similar traits and communicating with each other, as the Poles, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians did, would have similar destinations, but those groups which were very different, the non-Slavic groups, would have vastly different

patterns.

This discussion began by pointing out some of the deficiencies of Adams' model. To these must now be added the evidence that Adams' model does not explain Polish moves from outside the main concentration nor the moves from the main concentration to minor ones nor the very short moves within the main concentration. His sector model best describes those Polish moves from the old core to the area of Holy Cross, which admittedly comprised a big portion of the moves investigated. These moves, however, fit into the information flow idea as well as the sector idea. Still missing is any real evidence of the direct causal linkage suggested by Adams that Polish movers had wedge-shaped mental images of Minneapolis based on their supposed frequent trips downtown. No evidence was found that many Poles worked there. The evidence of Polish moves after 1905, especially to the area of Holy Cross, suggests the continued drawing power of the community, a community whose central institution, the church, was sited in the mid-1880s at the edge of the built-up area, and a community whose economic basis remained the industries and transportation services in Northeast. These ideas suggest that Polish moves from 1905 to 1945 had more to do with an event in the mid-1880s, which itself may have been related to some overall competition for space in the growing Minneapolis

economy then, or with the known worksites of Polish workers from 1905 to 1945, than to supposed wedge-shaped mental images centered on the CBD.

If the Polish moves from the old core to the Holy Cross area were wholly within-community moves and had no direct relation to the CBD, one may ask whether there would be any wedge-shaped theory if these Polish movements had not also been aligned in such a direct manner with the line from the CBD to the old core. I am suggesting that the sector theory may itself rest on this portion of the Polish moves. The Polish movements within Ward 1 were almost certainly going on in Adams' first two periods, 1890-95 and 1920-25. The Slavic population may well have been over-represented in Adams' sample because the letter K, which he chose to avoid ethnic bias, was the second most used letter among the Slavic last names in the 1905 Manuscript Census. It accounted for 14.7 percent of the 4,043 Slavic names. Only 5.1 percent of the non-Slavic names from Areas 1 and 2 began with K.¹⁶ Slavic over-representation in Adams' sample may well have been even greater than this simple ratio indicates. Within the letter K section in Minneapolis it would be easier to

¹⁶ Of the twenty most common names in the six major U.S. cities (totaling 120 names of which some are duplicates) only two begin with K, Kelly and Krueger. None of the top twenty in the entire country do. Eldon C. Smith, American Surnames, (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1969), pp. 298-99.

trace Kowalskis and Kowolczyks than Kennedys, Kellys, Kellers, Klines, and Knutsons for the simple reason that the Polish names are less common.

About eighty percent of the Polish moves in Minneapolis were sector specific (Table 7-1). If Polish moves were used to support the sector idea, it becomes circular reasoning to say the sector model describes Polish moves. Part of the Polish moves should describe part of the Polish moves!

Generational moves have been compared on a frequency and distance basis. Although the first generation moved as frequently and under some circumstances more frequently than the second, second generation moves tended to be longer than the first generation moves. Simirenko's ideas provided a basis of explanation for longer second generation move distances. He divided the second generation into those who sought to remain in the ethnic community and those who wished to remove themselves both socially and spatially from it. Being so divided, the average second generation move would be somewhat greater than the average first generation move since the latter would accommodate its housing needs within the community's confines. The application of his ideas to the Polish situation would suggest that, if one compared the subsequent distributions of first and second generation Poles, who had lived in the same area in 1905, the

second generation's dispersion would be greater. More of the second generation would be removed from the main Polish concentration.

Simirenko originally formed these conclusions from data on the Russian community of Northeast, so it seemed appropriate to use all the Poles there. The Polish data support Simirenko's contentions (Table 7-4). The standard distance of each generation was nearly equal in 1905, but the second generation's became greater in 1915 and during each succeeding period the difference between the two grew.

Only a few first generation Poles ventured outside Northeast's community. Most of those who did went to North Minneapolis and only a few moved into the eastern portion of Northeast, the area of British and Scandinavian dominance in 1905 (Figures 7-27 through 7-30). Relatively more second generation Poles ventured into the southern wards, into North Minneapolis and into Upper Northeast (Figures 7-31 through 7-34). Simirenko's findings were echoed in the Polish experience. Although there was movement out of Northeast, many first and second generation Poles stayed. The keynote is stability, not movement, a stability which gave rise to a Slavic corridor that was still noticeable in 1973 (Figure 7-35).

TABLE 7-4

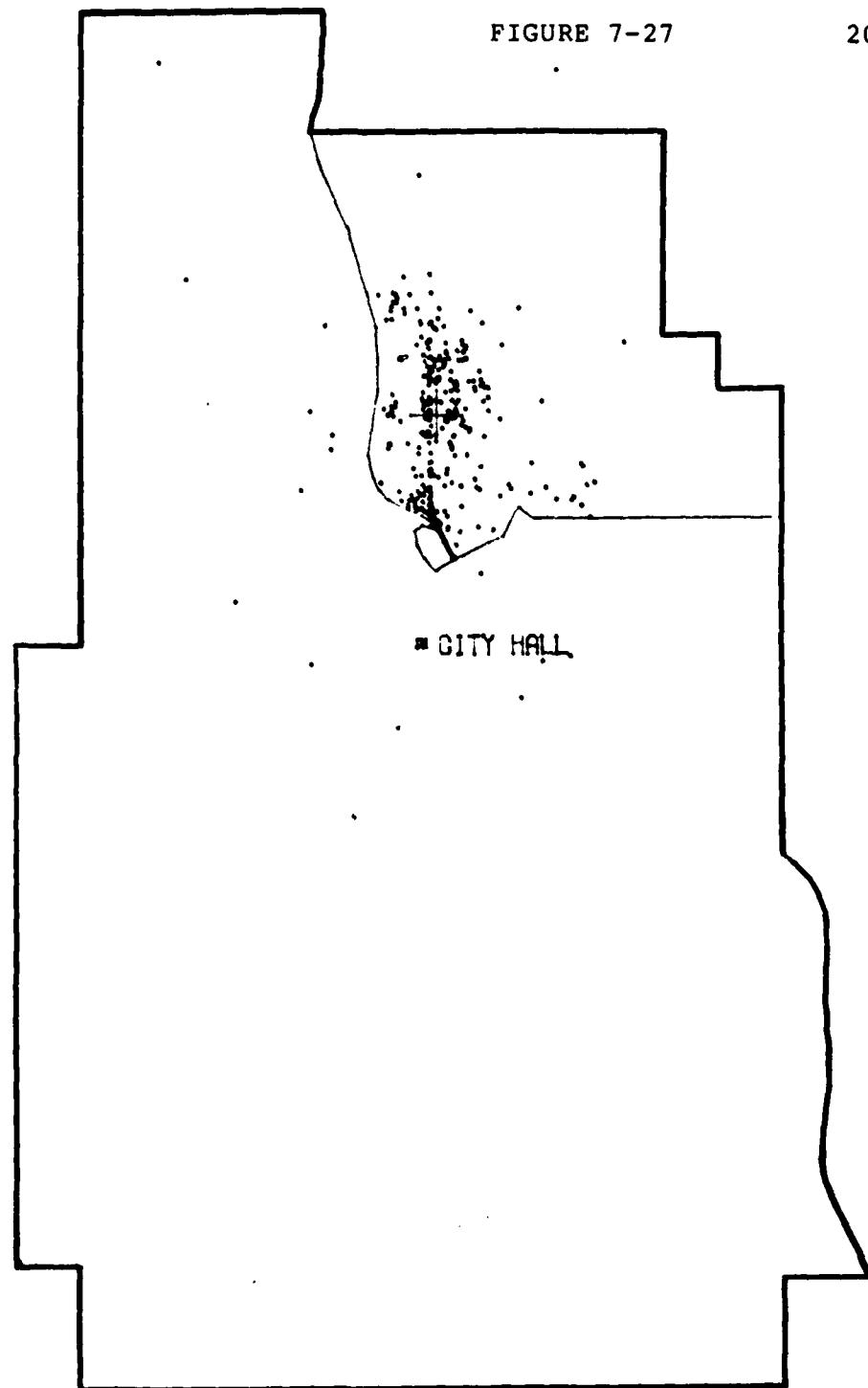
GENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF POLES FROM NORTHEAST

	First Generation	Second Generation
In 1905		
Number	724	668
Standard Distance	.600	.562
In 1915		
Number	351	463
Mean Distance ^a	.553	.587
Standard Distance	.791	.916
In 1925		
Number	267	306
Mean Distance	.818	.922
Standard Distance	1.073	1.332
In 1935		
Number	174	229
Mean Distance	.807	1.065
Standard Distance	1.075	1.600
In 1945		
Number	101	174
Mean Distance	.965	1.297
Standard Distance	1.225	1.837

^aMean distance from 1905 residence in miles.

FIGURE 7-27

208



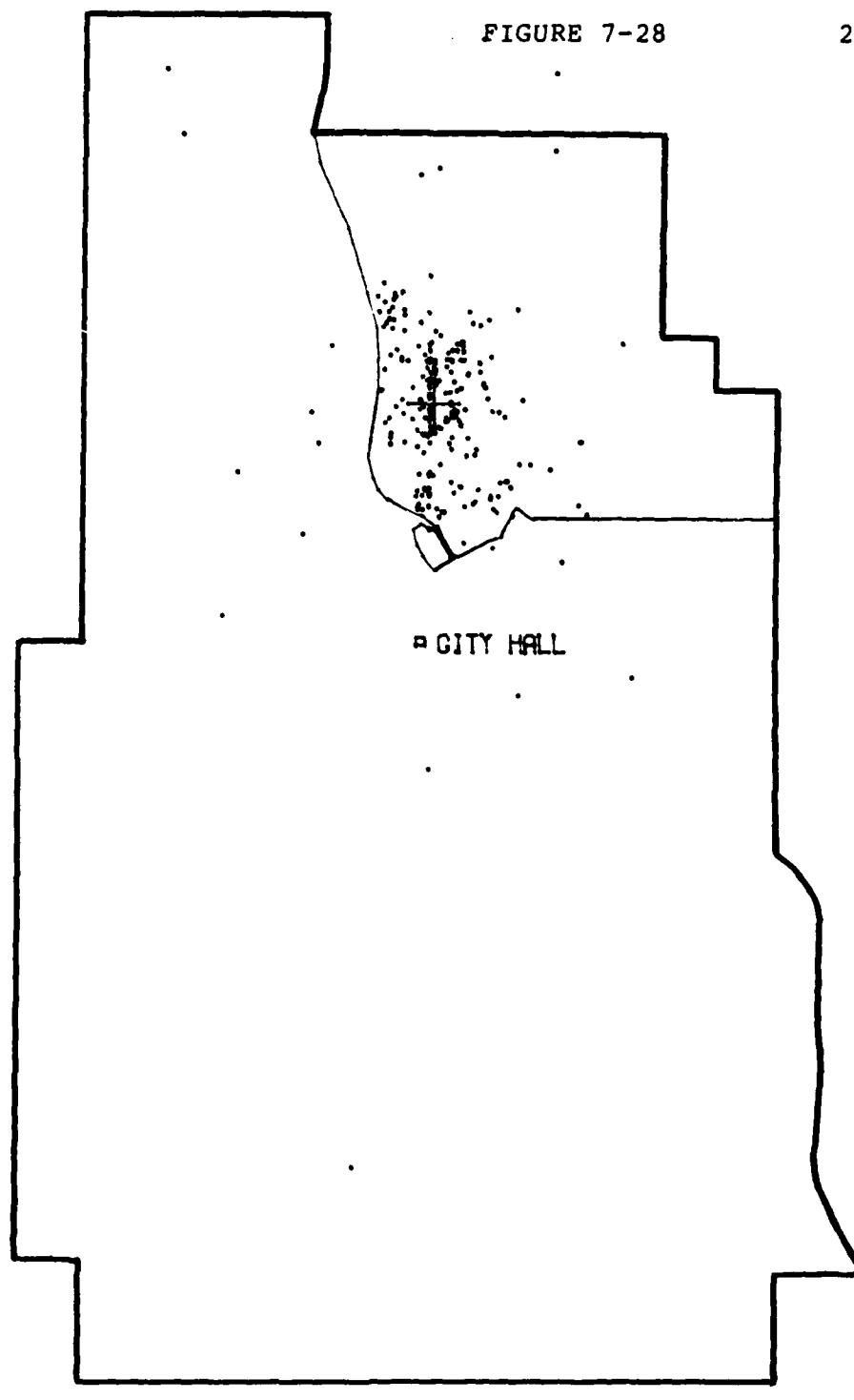
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915

1 MILE

FIRST GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-28

209



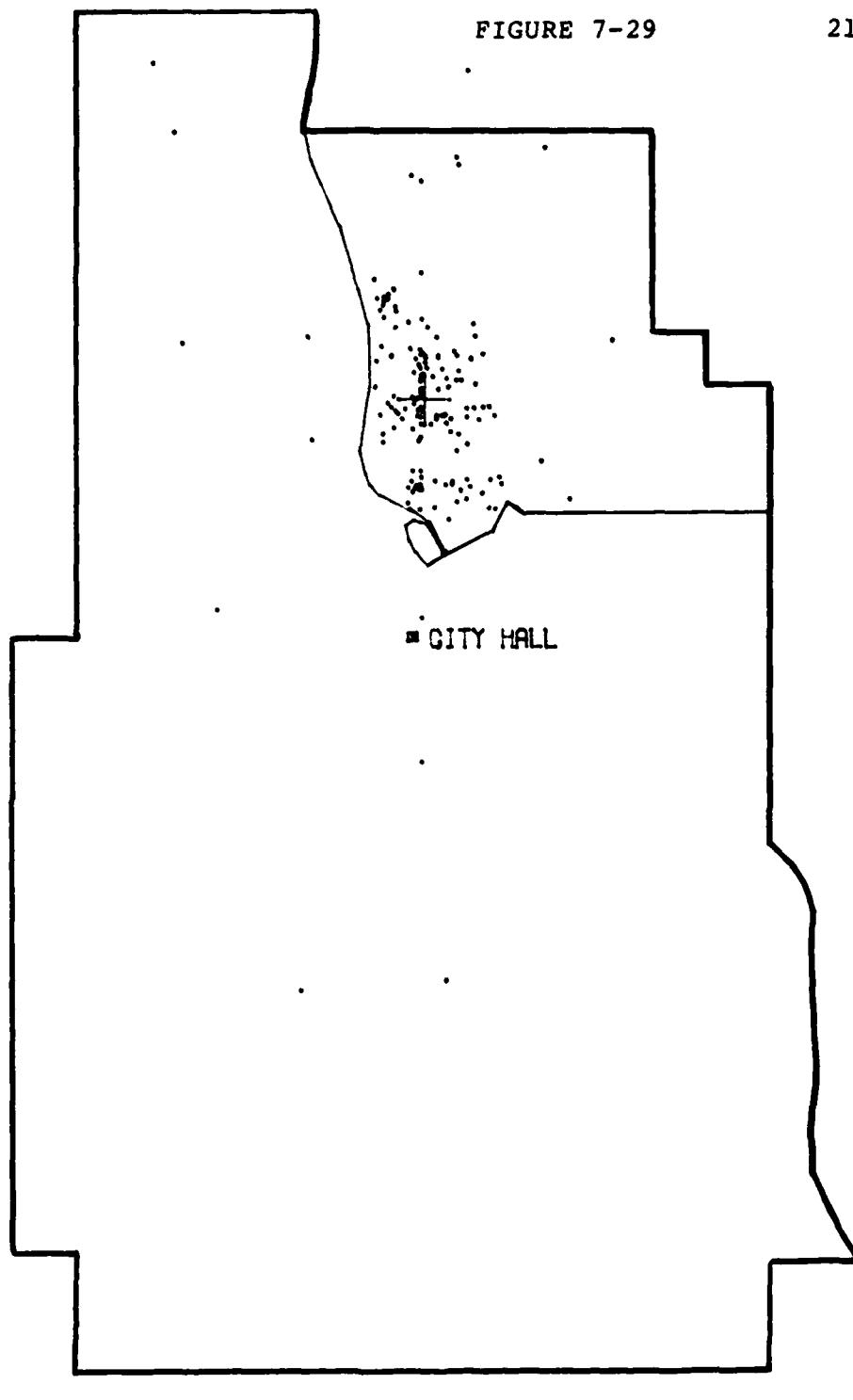
MINNEAPOLIS: 1925

1 MILE

FIRST GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-29

210



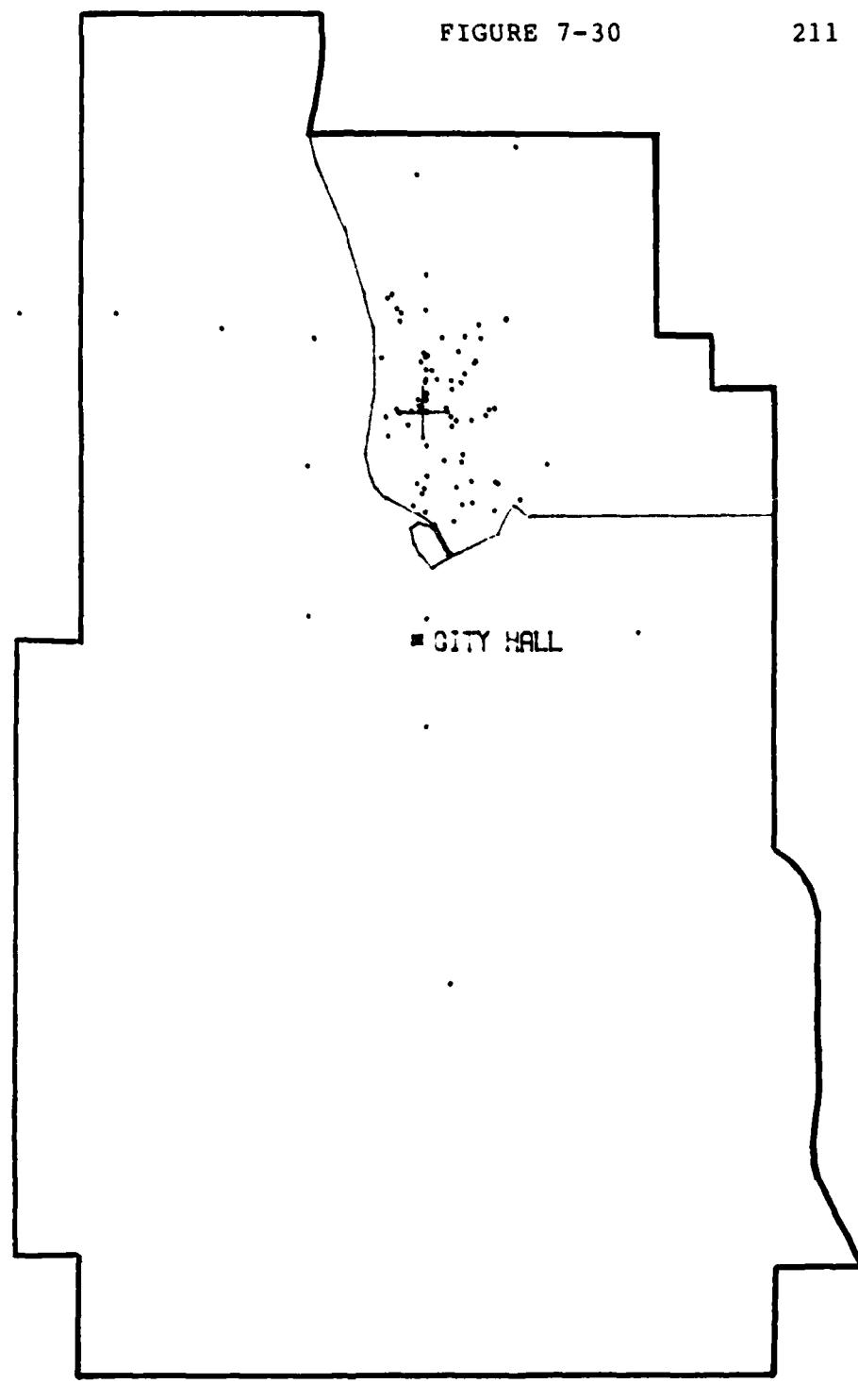
MINNEAPOLIS: 1935

1 MILE

FIRST GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-30

211



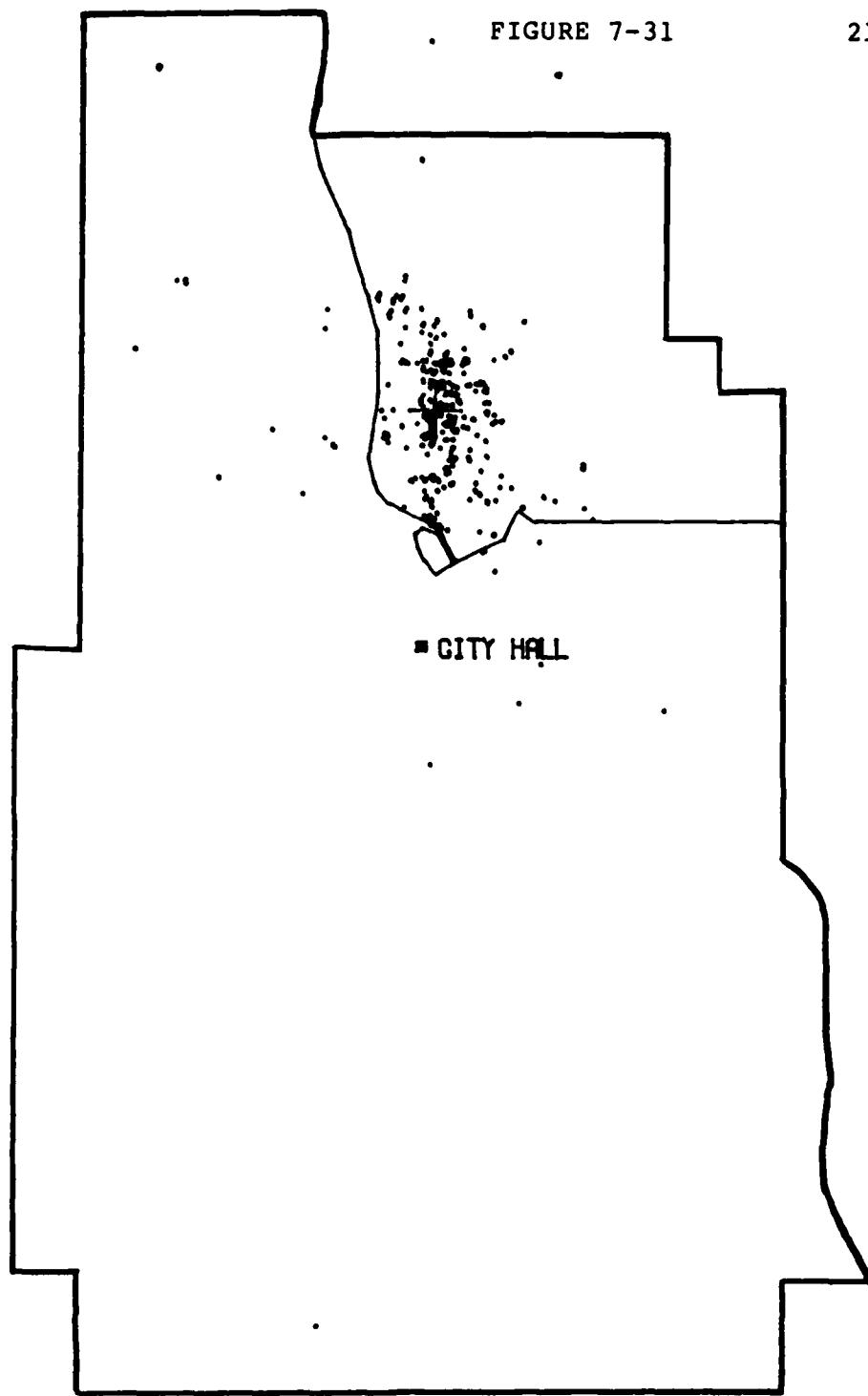
MINNEAPOLIS: 1945

1 MILE

FIRST GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-31

212



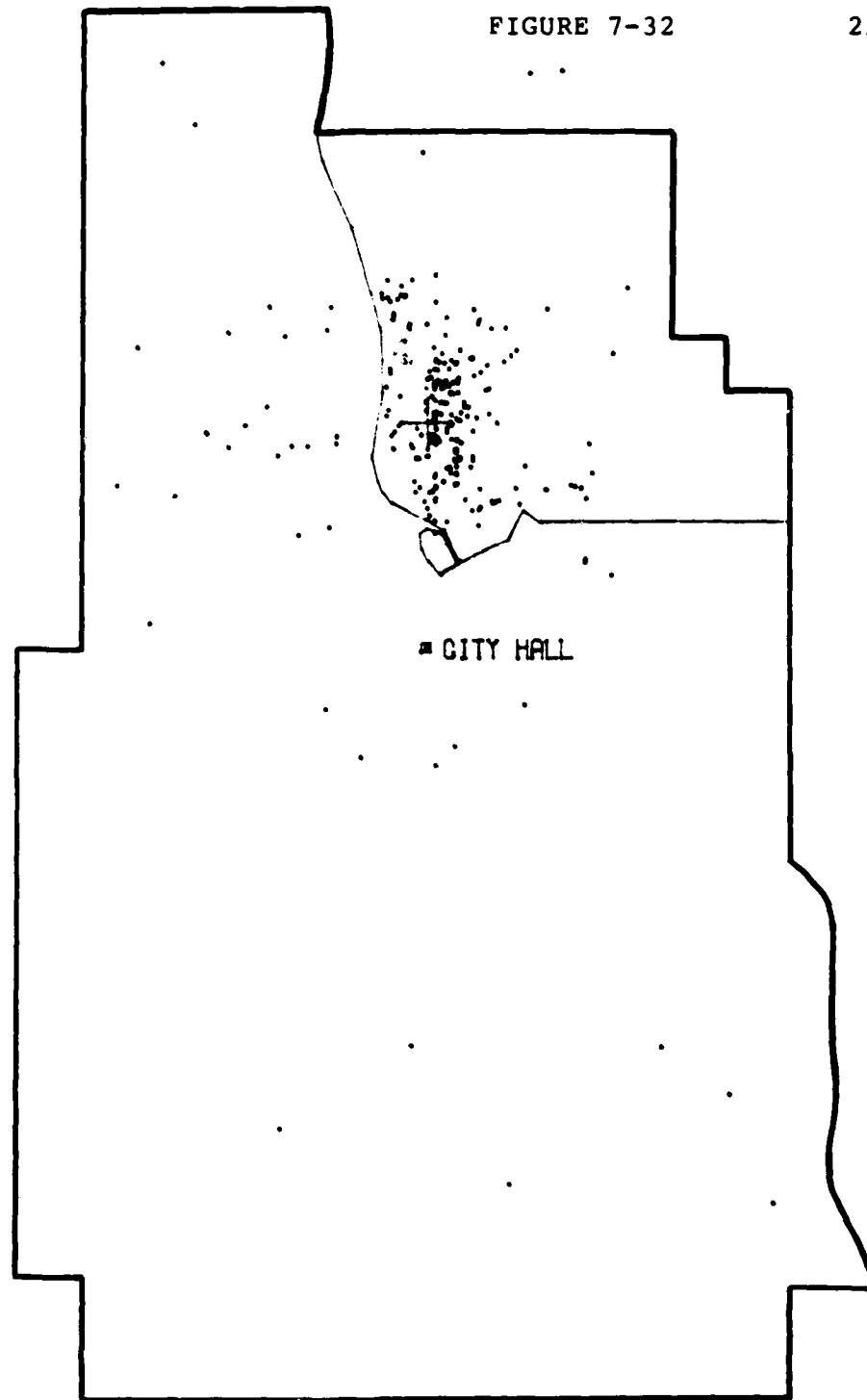
MINNEAPOLIS: 1915

1 MILE

SECOND GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-32

213



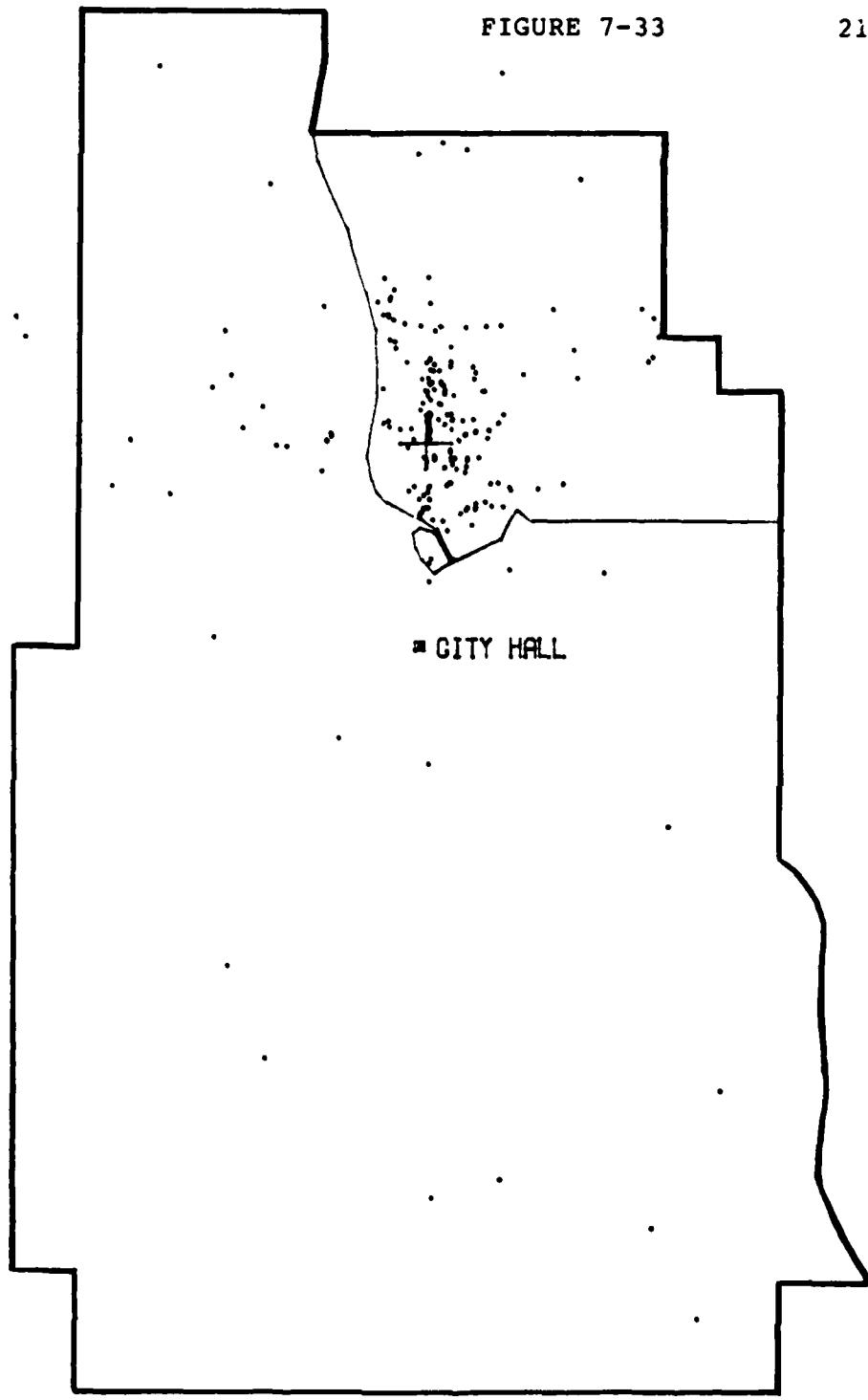
MINNEAPOLIS: 1925

1 MILE

SECOND GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-33

214



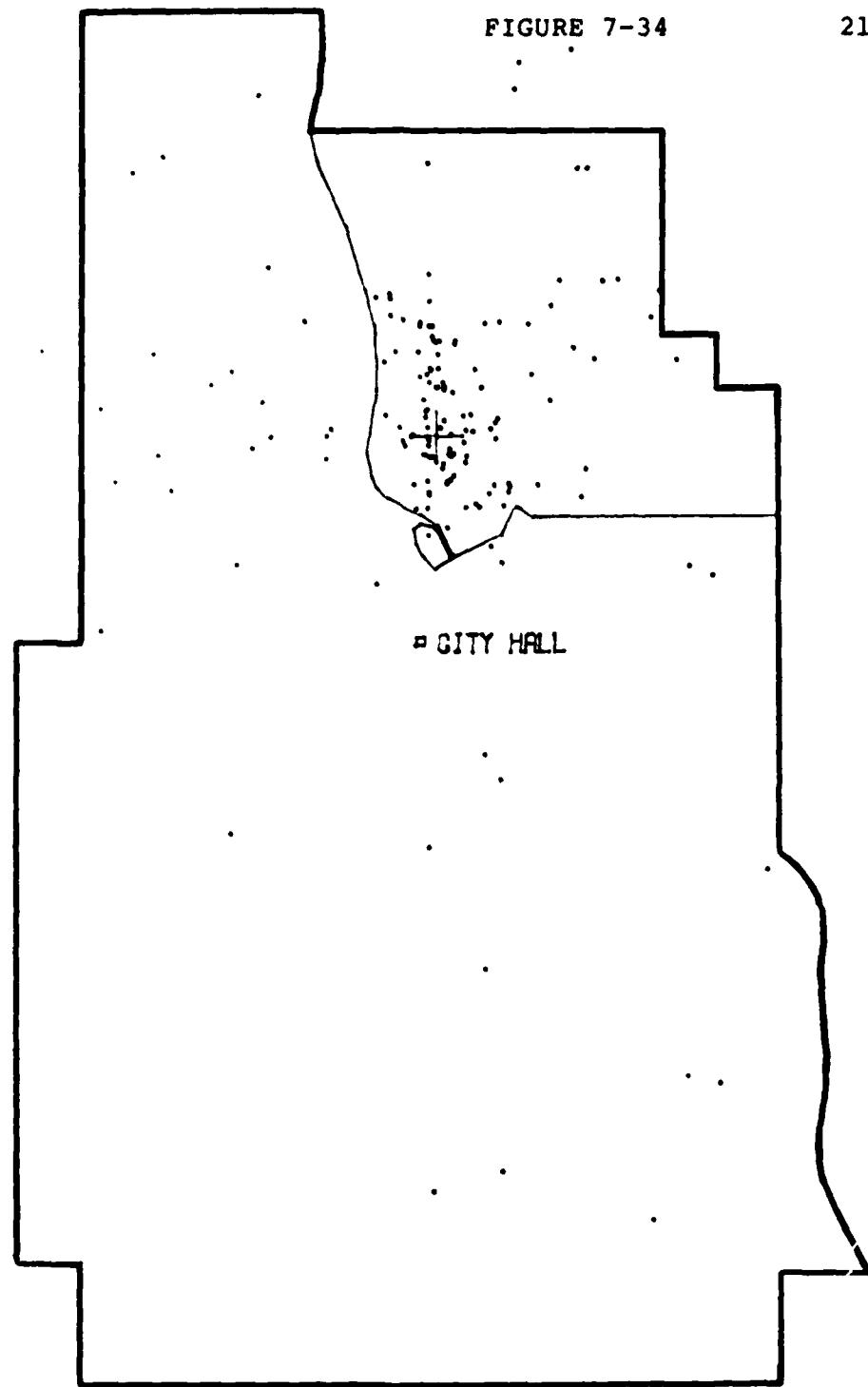
MINNEAPOLIS: 1935

1 MILE

SECOND GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-34

215



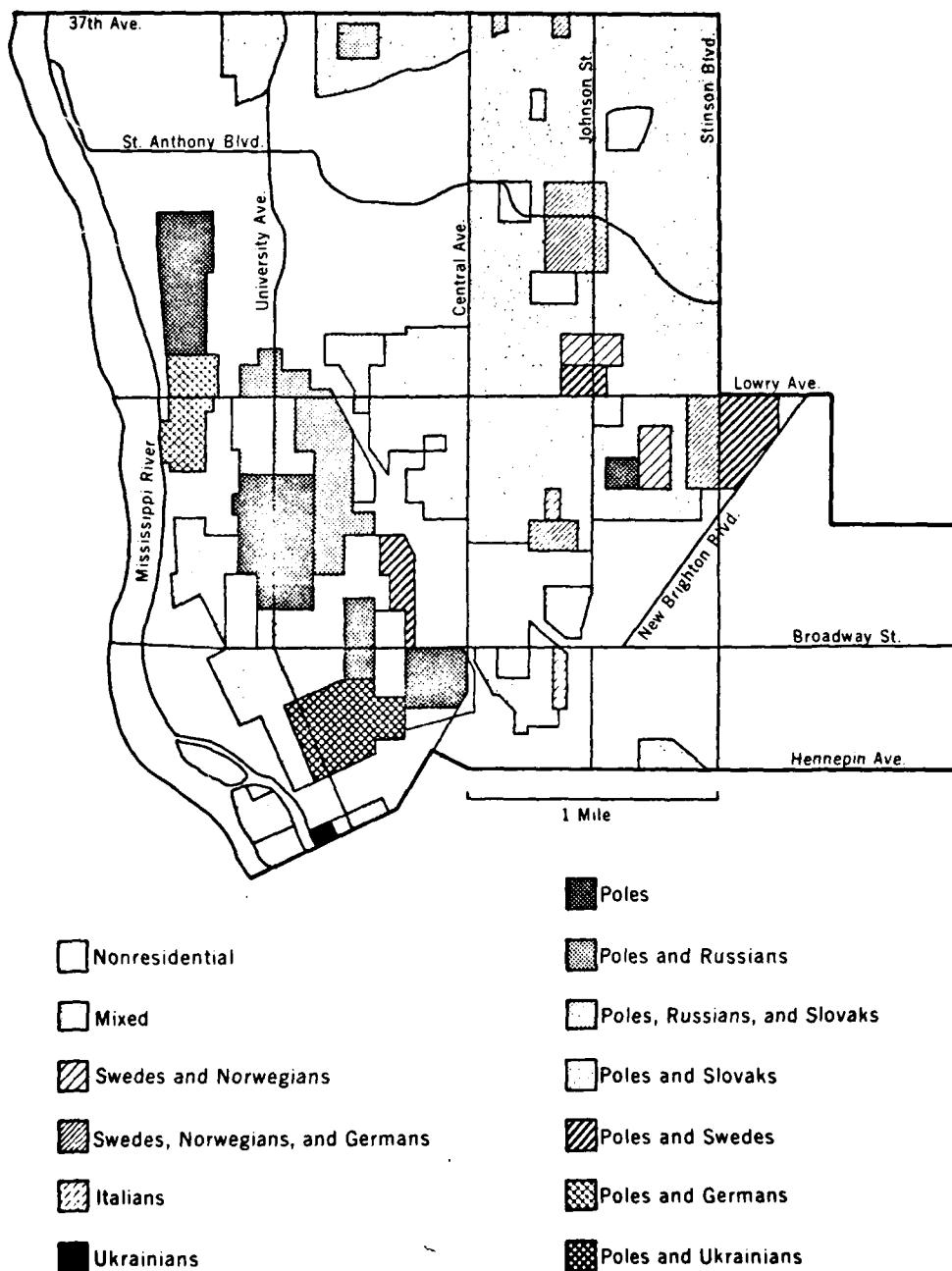
MINNEAPOLIS: 1945

1 MILE

SECOND GENERATION WITH NORTHEAST ORIGINS

FIGURE 7-35 ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS OF NORTHEAST MINNEAPOLIS, 1973

(in which the designated group comprises half or more of the population)



CHAPTER VIII

EVALUATION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study tested six hypotheses concerning the growth of an ethnic community. These hypotheses were linked to several models of ethnic area development and intra-urban migration. Has the evidence supported these hypotheses? What implications follow from the evidence?

Hypothesis 1

Immigrants from the same regions of Poland cluster in sharply defined, easily differentiated parts of the Minneapolis Polish Community.

This hypothesis is rejected. The clustering of Poles within the entire city is fairly definite although the areas in which the three groups did cluster were not exclusively Polish. The evidence (Figures 3-3 through 3-6), however, does not support the contention that provincial clustering was sharply defined within the Polish community itself. True, each of the three groups had an area in which it clustered, but no sharp boundaries between the groups were apparent. The groups themselves were somewhat artificial in an ethnic sense. They reflected the political division of the three partitioning powers. The difference between 1905 distributions of the German and Austrian Poles, moreover, was one which could

have resulted from a process other than regional segregation within the Polish group. The pattern could have been produced by the differences in time of arrival and point in the life-stage of the members of these categories. The difference in the distributions of the Russian and Austrian Poles, however, cannot be explained by time of arrival differences. These two groups came nearly contemporaneously, but nearly all the Russian Poles were near Holy Cross (much like the German Poles). Both arrival time and provincial origins seem to have played a part in the 1905 distribution of the Poles from the three empires.

Hypothesis 2

The most recent arrivals to the community (following Jerebek) tend to locate on the fringe of the ethnic area.

The evidence presents a mixed bag here. Jordan had defined the core as the area first dominated by the group. This area had numerous boarding houses and tenements to house the single, young male population. For the purposes of the study, the fringe was defined as the everything outside the area which had these characteristics. Using these definitions, less than half (42.5 percent) of the most recent arrivals were in the core in 1905.

The important point here is probably not whether the hypothesis should be accepted or rejected as it was stated. Forty-two and a half percent, after all, is

nearly half of the newcomers. Arguing the merits of the hypothesis would be arguing whether the cup is half full or half empty. In 1905 the entire community shared the port of entry function. The place where new immigrants entered the city was not tied to the old core for all time, but had expanded with the community. New immigrants could enter over the doorstep of nearly any Polish friend or relative who had preceded them whether that friend or relative was in the core or on the fringe.

This finding suggests that the immigrants' ladder model is spatially too deterministic and too static. The fact that many newcomers were outside the core argues for a more dynamic growth process of the ethnic area and more rapid response by the new immigrants to the changing conditions within the developing ethnic community than is depicted by the immigrants' ladder. It is difficult to argue that prospective immigrants were responding to the areal development of the community if each new arrival had to be funneled in pipeline fashion through the core to repeat the experiences of his predecessors.

The distribution of the newest arrivals was most like that of those who had preceded them by a decade or less, those who had growing families. This statement does not deny that a young newcomer could not have found lodging with an uncle much older than he who had arrived long before, but the similarities of distribution and

standard distances links the newcomers most closely to those who had arrived a decade or less before; to friends, brothers, or even uncles who were probably not much older.

If this pattern continued through the next decade, a decade of continued heavy immigration, it is possible that a large share of the immigrants did not experience the harsh tenement and boarding house conditions we normally associate with early twentieth century American immigration. Many may have moved into poor, low-class housing conditions which, however modest, were an improvement over the crowded tenements. Perhaps the role of tenement districts and boarding houses has been overplayed and overstated because of their obvious concentration and notability, whereas the more dispersed, less attention-drawing homes of young and middle-aged families were numerically as important in attracting and sheltering new arrivals.

The tenure and ethnic core maps raise other interesting questions. Early twentieth century immigrants are often pictured as followers in a process of invasion and succession of neighborhoods. Although Scandinavians and Slavs could have been encroaching on Yankee areas in Northeast, both Scandinavians and Slavs were on the expanding edge of the built-up area of Minneapolis in 1905. Holy Cross church itself was built in the mid-1880s at Seventeenth Avenue and Fourth Street beyond which were

the "prairies."¹ In a sense the foreign stock were pioneers building the city, not just inner-city slum dwellers. In retrospect, it is perhaps not surprising to find a share of the foreign stock on the city's edge. It would be unreasonable to think that the thirty percent of the city's population which was native born with native born parents could have the other seventy percent completely surrounded. The Polish element (and perhaps the other Slavic and Scandinavian groups) on the expanding edge of the ethnic area, whether bordered by open fields or other ethnic groups, was composed of those with a decade or less in the state. What about the areas which were ethnic boundaries? Was the potential for cultural conflict heightened by the fact that the ethnic members were among the least acculturated?

Hypothesis 3

The length of first generation moves varies inversely with the length of time the person has been in the state.

This hypothesis is rejected. The length of first generation move increased during each decade except that of the Depression. The length of first generation move seems to have been more closely related to the expansion of the ethnic community as one element of the expanding city of Minneapolis than to the length of time since

¹Chmielewski, p. 18.

arrival.

Hypothesis 4

Second generation members will be more mobile than the first, that is, the second generation in any given period will have a smaller percentage of non-movers, second generation moves will be of greater distance, and second generation moves will have a wider variety of destinations than first generation moves.

The first part of this hypothesis, that within any given period the second generation will have a greater percentage of movers, is rejected. A most important consideration was the proportion of each generation in the most mobile young adult years (Comparisons 1 and 2). When fathers' rates are compared to their sons' twenty or thirty years later (Comparison 3), the first generation had moved at a much higher rate than the second. Indeed, a major point which emerges is the stability of the second generation (Table 6-3 and Figures 7-31 through 7-34)! Why are the percentages of second generation stayers so high compared to the first generation twenty years earlier, and how are these high percentages related to the second generation distributions in 1935 and 1945? Apparently some of the second generation were exercising an option the first generation obviously had not, the option of staying with their parents. Thus, the rate at which the first generation moved may have been very high in the years immediately following immigration, but their very success in providing a home made it possible for the

second generation to be less mobile. In my own family several sons of older relatives did not leave the house in which they grew up until they were quite old. In one family two of the four sons and their wives and children lived in their father's house until their mid-forties, one downstairs with him, the other upstairs. They all finally moved when the house was demolished to make way for a new bridge.

Although length of move may not be a direct measure of mobility, it is indirectly related to the final aspect of mobility, the willingness to move to destinations outside the ethnic community. In each period the second generation moved farther than the first and did have a greater variety of destinations, as Simirenko's notions predicted.

In summary, it cannot be stated categorically that the first generation will move less frequently than the second. One must consider the age structure of each generation during the given period and the fact that the second generation has the option of staying with parents. Although the first generation may have been extremely mobile in the years immediately following arrival, an overwhelming share of its moves were within the ethnic community. The second generation may have had a somewhat greater tendency to move outside the community, but even it to a great degree remained within the community.

Hypothesis 5

Polish moves tend to be narrowly limited in space with one move much like the other, perhaps reflecting the information flows within the community.

This hypothesis is accepted. The overwhelming majority of Polish moves terminated in areas which had Polish concentrations in 1905. These terminal points accounted for more Polish moves than the sector model. Adams' reasoning did not adequately explain Polish moves from the southern wards or North Minneapolis to Northeast, the moves from Northeast to North Minneapolis and Dogtown, or the short moves within Northeast. Although just under eighty percent of the Polish moves from 1905 to 1915 fell within a forty-degree sector of the origin, it does not necessarily follow that movers had wedge-shaped mental maps based on the city center. Sector movements may have resulted from competition for housing between ethnic groups or between residential and industrial land uses in the overall growth of the city. In a growing metropolis the bulk of the moves of each ethnic group may be sector-like even though the group's members do not work in the center. The wedge-shaped movement notion and the information flow idea may also be complementary a good part of the time.

Hypothesis 6

Members of other groups who live close to the Poles will have dissimilar destinations.

The acceptance or rejection of this hypothesis is culturally specific. Groups with similar cultural traits had similar destination patterns, but the groups unlike the Poles had different patterns.

The different patterns emphasize the importance of cultural differences in intra-urban migration. Are these patterns spatial manifestations of the unmeltable ethnics phenomenon? If so, which groups are refusing to melt? All of them? Are we not back to Simirenko's notions that ethnic communities are formed by negative factors outside the community and by positive forces within it?

The maps of non-Slavic moves do not necessarily negate the possibility of sector movements among all non-Slavic groups in other parts of the city. Some underlying tendency for sectoral movements in all groups may not be operative in boundary regions between different groups. People may not view space as a completely abstract, continuous entity devoid of cultural content. In individuals' minds space may have dichotomous qualities. There may be areas into which they simply will not move, even if these areas fall within the narrow wedge of which Adams spoke, because they see these areas as culturally threatening. On the other hand, people may be spatially indifferent about their prospective residence in the

sector as long as that entire sector is culturally comfortable to them. In boundary areas this condition may not be met, so migrants will be repelled from the source of the discomfort.

This scenario may suggest how ethnic corridors are formed in American cities. An ethnic corridor implies the maintenance of ethnic concentration from interior to urban edge. If little cultural conflict existed between two neighboring groups when they were near the city center, residential mixing (the dilution of ethnic concentration) of the two would be expected at a subsequent time because their movement sectors overlap (Figures 8-1 and 8-2).

If conflict existed, however, little mixing (the maintenance of concentration) might result. The corridors could be formed in several ways. Both groups could move in narrow sectors (Figure 8-3), or one group might move out in sector fashion while the other group moves away from the sector (Figure 8-4). The evidence from Northeast suggests the latter. The Slavic ethnic corridor, which was still apparent in 1973 (Figure 7-35), was formed and maintained because the differing groups in an area of cultural conflict had different destination patterns during the subsequent periods.

In a broader context, the differing migration patterns offer some comment on the roles of space and place as central concepts in geography. David Ley has

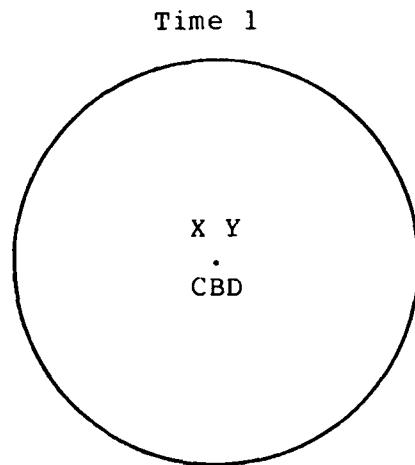


FIGURE 8-1 Initial Period

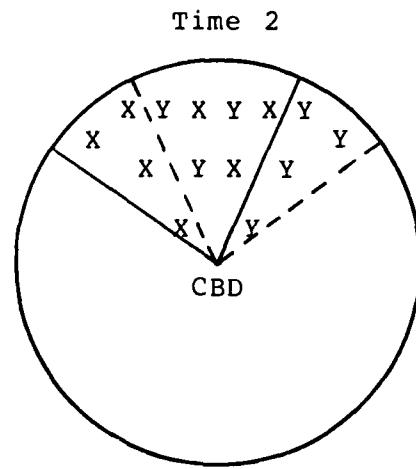


FIGURE 8-2 No Conflict With Overlapping Sectors

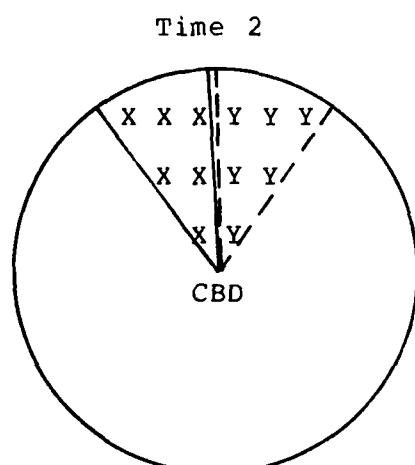


FIGURE 8-3 Conflict With Narrow Sectors

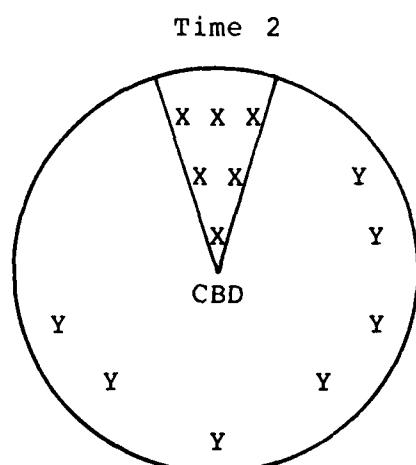


FIGURE 8-4 Conflict With Removal of One Group

pointed out that the 1960s witnessed the preeminence of space as most geographers' primary concern, but scholars like Tuan have held that the environment could not be viewed "in abstract empiricism," that abstract space was "an intellectual construct alone," and that a humanistic approach, which acknowledges the validity of the study of places "suffused with meaning," was needed in geography to lead to interpretations of man's everyday life.² The migration patterns deny any suggestion that the ethnic communities of Northeast were devoid of meaning either to the insiders or the outsiders. The patterns demonstrate the danger of discarding the humanistic tradition in geography.

This study began with Wagner and Mikesell's statement that the study of ethnic groups, though they possess great romantic appeal, would add little to the understanding of North American culture, and several opposing declarations that it is still too soon to count out the ethnic group based on national origin as a major structuring element in American society. My own opinion favors the latter conclusion. The Polish and other ethnic communities of Northeast have given form and substance to Minneapolis' urban structure for a century, as reflected

²David Ley, review of Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, by Yi Fu Tuan, in Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 68, No. 4, December 1978, pp. 570-72.

in the establishment of Holy Cross there near the end of the last century, in the migration patterns presented in this study, which covered the period up to 1945, and in my 1973 study. One may still witness a manifestation of ethnic feeling in Northeast by driving to University and Seventeenth Avenues. There, in front of the Holy Cross rectory, stand three flagpoles. The first has an American flag; the second, a Polish one; and the last carries the standard of the Northeast community. Whether or not the study of American ethnic groups is romantic, as Wagner and Mikesell stated, is a matter of personal preference. Whether or not the ethnic communities of Northeast will be around in another hundred years is a matter of conjecture. But surely, the century they have been there is a long time. It is unjustified to regard them as ephemeral.

APPENDIX I

The records listed in this Appendix were used to identify the ethnic affiliation of persons listed in the 1905 Manuscript Census of the State of Minnesota.

Polish-Church related

Holy Cross Catholic Parish

"Index to Baptismal Records," Minneapolis, March 25, 1898 to January 23, 1910.

Holy Cross parish was the first Polish parish in Minneapolis. It was and remains the largest.

"Diamond Jubilee of the Holy Cross Parish," Minneapolis, 1961.

Contains a brief history of the parish and lists of contributors to the Jubilee.

Chmielewski, Edward A. "History of Holy Cross Parish," Unpublished Master's Thesis, St. Paul Seminary, 1960.

Contains extensive lists of early parish leaders, persons who had entered religious orders, and members of various men's and women's groups.

St. Hedwig's Catholic Parish

"Index of Parish Members," Minneapolis.

St. Philip's Catholic Parish

"Registrum Baptizorum," Minneapolis.

Contains names of children and parents.

Sacred Heart Polish National Catholic Church

"Regesta Pareocia," Minneapolis.

Parish register of baptisms, marriages and burials containing the name of the child, parents and godparents for baptisms; the names of the partners for marriages; the name of the deceased, age at death, and date of burial for burials. The register began in 1914.

Polish-Fratalernal organizations

Polish National Alliance

"Lodge Lecha-Group 1042, Golden Jubilee: 1910-1960." Minneapolis, 1960.

"Library's Subscribers' Lists," Minneapolis.

Contains lists of people who checked out books and paid dues from 1901 to 1919.

Polish White Eagle Association

"Index to Insurance Policy Holders," Minneapolis.

Contains list of policy holders from 1906 with birth places, age at issuance and address. Members of Holy Cross parish comprised Group 1; St. Philip's, Group 2; St. Hedwig's, Group 3; All Saint's, Group 4; post-World War II, Group 25.

"Fiftieth Jubilee of Polish White Eagle Association," Minneapolis, 1956.

Ruthenian-Church related

St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic

Simirenko, Alex, Pilgrims, Colonists, Frontiersmen, London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

Contains lists of people from St. Mary's he used in his sociological study. A poor reaction to this book by the parish precluded my use of any of its records.

"Fortieth Anniversary of St. Mary's R.O.G.C. Church: 1889-1929," Minneapolis, 1929.

Contains an historical sketch, lists of earliest members, the anniversary committee and World War I service members.

St. John's Byzantine Rite Catholic Church

"Silver Jubilee: 1906-1931," Minneapolis, 1931.

Contains a brief history and membership lists.

The retired parish priest, Father Kallock, also assisted by perusing my list of Slavic names.

Slovak-Church related

Holy Emmanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church

"Parish Register," Bloomington, Minnesota.

Contains baptismal and marriage records from 1888 to 1920. The Church's original location was near the University of Minnesota's East Bank campus.

"Seventy-fifth Anniversary Album: 1888-1963," Minneapolis, 1963.

St. Cyril Slovak Catholic Parish

"Registrum Baptizorum: 1893-1908," Minneapolis.

"1891-1941: Golden Jubilee," Minneapolis, 1941.

Slovak-Fratal organizations

"Records of the Cyril and Methodius Lodge #3 of the First Catholic Slovak Union.

Records held at the Immigration History Research Center include the 1896 to 1906 membership lists and dues payment lists for 1907. Also contains the year and place of birth and addresses of the members.

Ukrainian-Church related

St. Constantine Ukrainian-Greek Catholic Church

"Memorial Book of the Golden Jubilee of the Ukrainian-Greek Catholic church in the U.S.A. and the Twentieth Anniversary of St. Constantine in Minneapolis, Minnesota," Minneapolis, 1940.

St. Michael's Ukrainian-Orthodox Church

"Fifteenth Anniversary of St. Michael's Greek Orthodox Church," Minneapolis, 1940.

Other

In addition to the above sources, ethnic affiliation was determined in a limited number of cases through personal contacts and through entries in the 1905 census.

APPENDIX II

The material in this Appendix served as a guide for determining how Slavic names appearing in parish and fraternal organization records or spoken to a census taker might ultimately appear in English form. The most used correspondences were between English and Polish and between English and Czech, since most of the investigated records were Polish or Slovak sources.

A. Inter-Language Sound Correspondences.

TABLE A-II-1
LINGUISTIC SOUND-LETTER CORRESPONDENCES

<u>English</u>	<u>Polish</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>
a(hate)	-	-	-	é
a(laugh)	-	á	-	á
a(art)	a	á	а	a
nasal an, on	ą	-	-	-
b	b	b	ɔ	b
c	-	-	-	-
ch(church)	cz	č	ч	cs
ch(loch)	ch, h	ch	х	-
d	d	d	д	d
e(get)	e	e	е	e
nasal em, en	ę(verdun)	-	-	..
f	f	f	ɸ	f
g	g	g	-	g
h(hook)	h	h	г	h
i	i(tree)	i(tree)	i(tree)	i
j(yeast)	j	j	i	-
j(jewel)	dż	dž	-	dzs
k	k	k	к	k
l	l	l	л	l
m	m	m	м	m
n(neat)	n	n	н	n
n(onion)	ń	ń	ń	n
o(molest)	o	o	о	o, o
oo(boot)	u, ó	ú, ü	у	ö, ú, u, gy
p	p	p	п	p
q	kw	kv	-	kv
r	r(rolled)	r	р	r
rsh(Pershing)	-	ř	-	-
s(side)	s	s	с	sz
s(measure)	rz, ž	ž	ж	zs

TABLE A-II-1 continued

<u>English</u>	<u>Polish</u> ^a	<u>Czech</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>Hungarian</u>
sh	sz	š	ш	s
shch	szcz	šč	щ	-
t	t	t	т	t
ts(cats)	c	c	ц	c
u(put)	u	u	-	u
v	w	v	в	v
w	ż	-	-	-
x	ks	ks	-	-
y(very)	y	i, y	й	-
y(bit)	y	y	и	i
ya(yard)	ja	ja	я	-
ye(yes)	je	e	э	-
yo(youth)	ju	ju	ю	j, ly
z	z	z	з	z

^aMost Slavic consonants have both hard and soft articulation and, in Polish, several consonants have "hissing" variants. These are not shown in the table.

B. Homophenous Correspondences

Because verbal communication is partially visual, as well as aural, understanding some of the sight correspondences between different letters in English proved valuable in matching names from the various sources. Sounds which are formed similarly by lips and tongue "look" the same and are termed homophenous (from the Greek *phen*: to shine or to appear).¹ Like sounding words are homophones. A great correspondence between homophenes and homophones exists, but it is far from complete. The letters b, p, and m appear similar on a person's lips, but sound differently. Tram, trap, drab, and tramp look exactly alike. Similarly, the words plate, blade, plain, plane and played appear the same. Much of the difference between the Indo-European languages stems from whether or not a consonant is voiced or aspirated or how a vowel is pronounced. Voiced, aspirated, and nasal variants, therefore, form an important part of the table. Compare the homophene table with one of Indo-European sound correspondences.²

¹Kathryn A. Ordman and Mary P. Ralli, What People Say: The Nitchie Basic Course in Lipreading, (Washington, D.C.: The Volta Bureau, 1955), p. ix.

²American Heritage Dictionary, College Edition, 1976, p. 1552.

TABLE A-II-2
HOMOPHENOUS SOUNDS^a

Consonants

Breathed

	<u>Voiced</u>	<u>Nasal</u>
h		
wh	w	
p	b	m, mb
t	d	n, kn (also l and r)
k, c, ck	g(gun)	ng, nk
f, ph	v	
th(think)	th(these)	
s, ci, ce, cy	z(these)	
sh	zh(measure) (azure)	
ch, tch(catch)	j(jewel) (edge)	

Vowels

oo	ue(rue), ew(chew)
oo	oo(book), u(pudding)
oe	oa, o, ow
aw	au, or, a
o	o(moth)
ee	e, ea (seat)
i	y(city)
ae	ai, ay
e	ea (pear)
a	
ar	
o	o(rot)
u	a, ar, er, ir, or, ur, re
ur	er, ir
ie	igh, y, ar, ee
oe	oa, o, ow, u, oo
ou	ow, ar, oo
oi	oy, aw(Sawyer), oo
ue	ew, ee, oo

^a Lipreading in America began in the East, making some of the correspondences appear strange to the Midwesterner.

C. Examples from the Minneapolis Records

<u>Name in Ethnic Source</u>	<u>Census or Directory Entry</u>
Balogha	Balida, Paldega
Biernat	Bernard
Chorzempa	Hozempa, Hozepa, kozepa
Ciszek	Kusek
Czuper	Super
Dziadkowiec	Jividock
Gacek	Gotzak
Grivna	Hrivna
Grybios	Hybosz
Jurek	Urek, Yurek
Książek	Ksonze, Kziwzek
Łopata	Lopata, Wopata
Polczak	Polslock
Rąk	Rock, Runk
Rucki	Rutski
Rzeszutek	Rasuttox
Sledz	Sledge
Sularz	Scholocz, Zulosch
Świątek	Swandeck, Swentek, Swientek
Zadło	Zandlo, Zando, Zadto, Zunda
Związka	Zollaza
Zurwistowski	Jurvistowski

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